REVOLUTION
IN FRANCE

SUFFERINGS
OF THE
ROYAL FAMILY

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1817



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BOUND BY
Charles L. Elliott
1901 Rosedale St.
AT NORTH AVE.
BALTIMORE

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AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

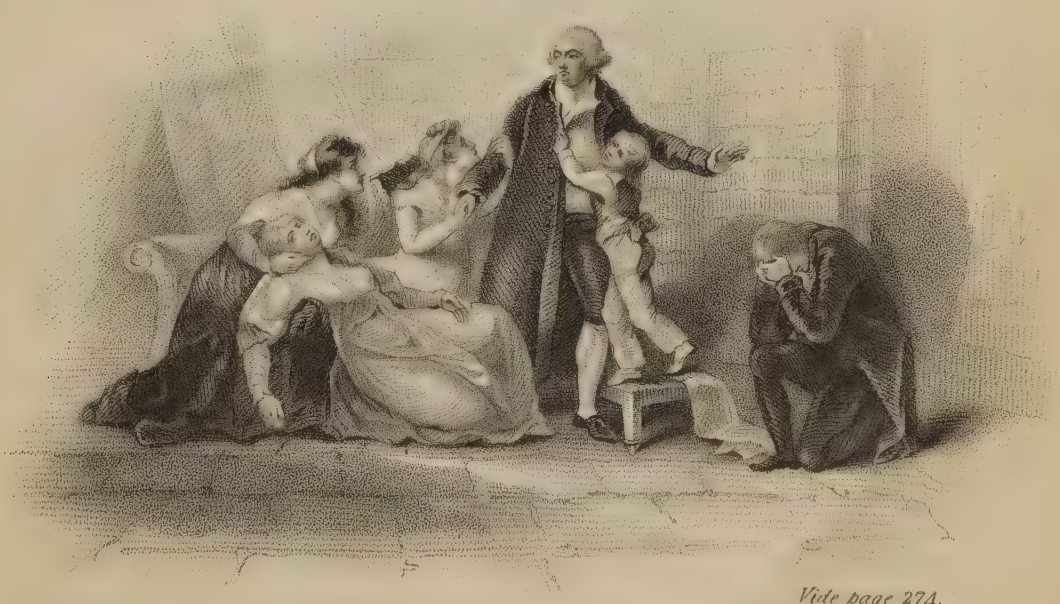
AND OF

The Sufferings

OF

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

DEDUCED PRINCIPALLY FROM ACCOUNTS BY EYE-WITNESSES.



Vide page 274.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the tumultuous period referred to in the succeeding pages, when not merely the venerable throne of a great empire was assailed, but when the immutable principles of order were invaded, and the right of superiority, as the reward of industry, and the bond which unites mankind in society, called in question, the friends of human nature have maintained a contest, which, however arduous and destructive, has at length issued in triumph.

The long-looked-for calm, which has succeeded efforts the most unexampled in kind and continuance, now leaves the world leisure for contemplation ; and, casting our eyes over the afflicting path which has been trodden, the mind is naturally led to the spot from whence arose the evils which have been endured. Prompted by the spirit of inquiry, or awakened by pathetic recollections, we, as it were instinctively, live over those chilling

days which saw a king, adorned by all the tender virtues, and a queen, beautiful and accomplished, but rendered doubly interesting by her sufferings and heroism, precipitated from a throne to a dungeon, insulted, arraigned, and finally immolated, unpitied by the misled persons around them, and unassisted by those numerous and devoted friends, who would have esteemed it the highest honour to have received their last embrace, but whom, by a noble self-renunciation, the victims themselves had compelled to depart. We participate in those feelings of lonely desolation, which maintain their gloomy reign in the heart of a capital, in the view of multitudes; and, approaching with reverence a scene thus painfully interesting, thus strangely compounded of grandeur and of woe, of magnanimity and of degradation, we shed in silence the tear of nature over the calamities to which humanity is exposed, and from which even the possessors of a throne could not obtain exemption.

To occurrences like these, which possess so strong a hold on our affections, we fondly desire a near admission, and by an arrangement peculiarly favourable to the conveyance

of living feelings the accounts which have been transmitted, with a singular amptitude, afford us the melancholy gratification. We are furnished first with the minute detail of that faithful and affectionate servant*, who sought his royal master in his rude abode of captivity, and who assiduously attended his persecuted sovereign and family until removed to a separate confinement, on the charge of his attachment. A successor †, equally devoted, then supplies the narrative of a larger period. The friendly visitant ‡, administering the latest consolations, exhibits to our view the monarch at the hour of death; and the august princess §, who, at a tender age, shared the hard fate of her illustrious parents, and who alone survives, supplies a most important and concluding portion of this unprecedented history, in the account she succeeded in keeping, respecting her exalted female relatives and fellow-sufferers.

To rescue from comparative oblivion a

* M. Hue. His work entitled "The Last Years of the Life and Reign of Louis XVI. is to be considered generally as the authority for these Memoirs, as far as the eighth chapter.

† M. Cléry.

‡ The Abbé Edgeworth.

§ Madame Royale, now duchess d'Angoulême.

large portion of these interesting details, and to combine them, with the more recent but not less valuable accounts of a later date, in one narrative, blended with a few transient illustrations from other sources, is the design intended in the following pages ;—with what success must be left to the decision of those who will properly appreciate the labours of the intellect employed in services of the heart ; and whose habits of reasoning will offer no violence to the dictates of judgment, but who, far from being guided by that disgusting phrensy which denominates rank an inroad, and birth a crime, ever find, in those who suffer unjustly, a fit object for sympathy ; and the more so, as the susceptibilities may have been expanded in the fairer regions of exalted expectation.

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AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS,

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Convocation of the Notables.—Assembly of the States-General.—Opening of their first Sitting.—Disorders of the Tiers-Etat.—The Sitting suspended.

THE revolution in France, regarded as the parent of those overwhelming events which are but too fatally engraven on the hearts of men, presents to the statesman and the moralist a mighty subject of contemplation; whilst to the world at large it affords in the spectacle of myriads sacrificed through pursuits engendered by guilty passions, a striking proof of the inestimable value which inherently belongs to private virtue and domestic peace,—the only solid foundations for individual, and thence for national, stability.

To detail at any satisfactory length the various opinions which have been advanced on the causes

of this momentous occurrence would be quite irrelevant to the plan of the present work, which admits only of a very brief reference to the earlier pages of history, and of a much less allusion to sentiments.

The government of France may be said to have attained, during the reign of Louis XIV., the character of an absolute monarchy. But although that sovereign acknowledged no limitation to his will, yet he regulated his conduct by great maxims of state, and by principles of government which he invariably observed during a long and brilliant reign, in which he experienced alternately the smiles and the frowns of Fortune.

His successor, Louis XV., caused corruption and vice to take such deep root in the public mind by his own bad habits and example, as would probably have brought on himself those evils which eventually devolved on his descendants, but for the prudent conduct of his minister, cardinal de Fleury, who was at the head of affairs during the first twenty years of his reign. But, on the death of that minister, this prince resigned his person and kingdom to the hands of his mistresses, by whom the government was committed to individuals, who, owing their appointments to intrigue, were not likely to be found either qualified or inclined to fulfil their high duties. An infectious disease put a period to the reign of this monarch, who died on the tenth of May,

1774, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-eighth of his reign.

Louis XVI., his grandson and successor, was born on the twenty-third of August, 1754, and became heir to the throne, by the death of his father, in his eleventh year. At the age of fifteen he espoused Marie-Antoinette-Josephe-Jeanne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Francis I., a princess of dignified manners and great beauty; and, on the death of his grandfather, ascended the throne at the early age of twenty, possessing all the virtues which are an ornament to private life, but scarcely any of those energies which are indispensably necessary for contending with extensive evils, and more especially in tumultuous times.

Benevolent and well-intentioned, Louis XVI. had no sooner taken possession of his high office than he began to think of lessening the public burdens; and, in order to this, curtailed many expensive branches of the royal household. He, however, more than counterbalanced these advantages by unhappily interfering in the quarrel between Great Britain and America,—a measure which, besides the incurring of an ill-advised expenditure, rendered popular in France the most romantic ideas respecting liberty, and the republican form of government.

Upwards of eight years elapsed after the royal marriage before any prospect appeared of an heir

to the throne. At length, December 19, 1778, the queen gave birth to a daughter *(Madame Royale)*, and October 22, 1781, to a son *(the Dauphin)*, who dying, 1789, transmitted that title to his younger brother, born March 27, 1785, afterwards Louis XVII. These events, however gratifying in themselves, were soon sullied by the discontents of the interested or designing; who, on account of the national burdens, loudly and virulently spoke of the queen's expenses, in which they led the people with perverse obstinacy to fancy that all their difficulties originated.

The finances now became so impoverished as to leave an immense deficit, and new loans and taxes were proposed to the king, in order to meet the difficulty; but he replied, "I will have no more loans, nor any new tax," resolving rather to call to his aid the public voice.

In the years 1787 and 1788, two convocations of the notables of the kingdom took place. These notables were the princes of the blood, archbishops and bishops, dukes and peers, mareschals, governors and commanders of provinces, chiefs of sovereign courts, magistrates, members of the council of state, and mayors of principal towns.

The final result of these measures led to the fatal determination of assembling the states-general,—a step seldom resorted to, and which, in a moment of public difficulty like the present, could hardly fail of being hazardous, by bringing together,

and introducing to each other, a mass of persons, under the specious appearance of a popular assembly, who might either be unskilled in questions of government, or craftily intent on promoting dissension and uproar.

The proclamation for the meeting of the states-general was made April 27, 1789. The three orders, the clergy, the nobility, and tiers-etat (third order), it was resolved should meet as usual separately. The tiers-etat of the towns, boroughs, and villages, were convened by arrondissemens, or divisions, in primary assemblies. In these the complaints, grievances, and demands of each commune, were drawn up in writing; after which electors were appointed to attend the assembly for choosing the deputies, who were selected from any rank in life, with or without property.

The number of the deputies were three hundred for the clergy, three hundred for the nobility, and six hundred for the tiers-etat.

The opening of the sitting took place with great solemnity on the fifth of May, 1789; the king delivering an affectionate address on the situation of affairs, which he concluded by devout wishes for the public good, and the prosperity of his people.

The much-to-be-desired harmony of this meeting was however disturbed in its commencement, by the objection of the tiers-etat to allow the three orders to meet separately, according to the ancient usage.

The tiers-etat demanded that the clergy and the nobles should meet in the same hall with themselves, and declared that they would suffer no distinction of orders. Here the first stand appeared to be making for those absurd notions of equality so incompatible with all the relations of life, and which a tremendous experience has since proved are calculated only to beguile the ignorant and allure the unreflecting, through glaring and unnatural prospects, from the paths of industry, contentment, and virtue, to those of indolence, aggression, and murder.

The turbulence of the tiers-etat increased with the opposition of the other orders, until, by their reports and instigation, the public mind became inflamed both in the capital and throughout the provinces, the people espoused the cause of their favourite representatives, and appearances began to wear a very menacing aspect. The king, torn by the solicitudes of contending opinion, and to a fault desirous of conciliating, interposed in this distressing juncture; and when M. de Luxembourg, in the name of the chamber of the nobles, objected to the junction, the king answered, "I have fully considered the subject; tell the nobles I request them to join: if my request is not sufficient, I command it. For myself, I am resolved to make every sacrifice; God forbid one single man should ever perish in my cause!"

Whilst these discussions were proceeding, the

tiers-etat, in the spirit of that coarse vulgarity which afterwards so openly pervaded their measures, summoned for the last time the clergy and nobility, on whose non-appearance they declared themselves constituted the national assembly, nominated a president, and proceeded to take on themselves the supreme function.

Alarmed by these appearances, the king summoned his council, and endeavoured, by uniting in it different parties, to extinguish animosity. The result of the deliberations was a determination to adjourn the sittings of the states-general. A suspension of two days was in consequence proclaimed by heralds on the 20th of June; but the tiers-etat refused to submit to this, and, on the shutting of the hall, repaired in the most violent temper to a tennis-court, where they bound themselves together by the following oath:—"We swear that we will never separate, but continue to meet wherever we can till the constitution of the kingdom and the public regeneration are established."

CHAPTER II.

Re-opening of the Assembly.—General State of Outrage and Alarm.—Troops stationed between Versailles and Paris.—Dismissal of M. Necker.—Riots in the Capital.—Attack and Demolition of the Bastille.

ON the twenty-third of June, the king went and re-opened the sitting of the states-general, delivering a speech to them, in which he expressed his deep regret at the divisions which had taken place among them, and, concluding, ordered a declaration to be read, defining the respective rights of the three orders, and the proper mode of their transacting business. After this, the king introduced by a short speech a declaration of what he would himself do, with a view to the general benefit; namely, abolish such rights derived from ancient usage as seemed incompatible with present exigencies,—enlarge the prerogatives of the inferior order,—and cause to be published annually an account of the revenue and expenditure of the state. The king then concluded in the following words:—

"You have now, gentlemen, heard the result of my intentions and my views: they are consonant

with the lively desire I feel of restoring public prosperity; and if, by some fatality unthought of by me, you should desert me in so glorious an undertaking, alone I will labour for my people's good,—alone will consider myself as their real representative; and, as I know the instructions you have received, as I know the perfect concord existing between the most general wish of the nation and my own paternal intentions, I shall feel all the confidence that must flow from so uncommon a harmony, and proceed towards the object I am anxious to attain with the courage and firmness it must inspire.

"Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your plans, none of your resolutions, can acquire the force of law without my special concurrence. Thus am I the natural supporter of your respective rights, and all the orders of the state may rely upon my inviolable impartiality. Any distrust on your part will be great injustice: I have myself hitherto done every thing for the happiness of my people; and it is perhaps rare that the only ambition of a sovereign should be to prevail upon his subjects to agree at last, and accept his favours."

The king having quitted the hall, the deputies of the clergy and nobility followed, but the tiers-etat continued their sitting. The grand master of the ceremonies repeated to them the king's express order to leave the hall. "Gentlemen," said he, "you know the king's intention." "Yes, sir,"

replied count Mirabeau, "we have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the king. If you are commissioned to turn us out, go and ask those who have sent you for orders to employ force. We are here by the will of the people, and will not quit our seats till compelled by the point of the bayonet." This daring reply, which was intended as the signal for rebellion, was the artful contrivance of a faction, which, like every such band, flattered the people by high-sounding declarations of its own purity, and was uttered by a person described as having been throughout life the most immoral of men,—a bad son, an execrable husband, and an imperious master; who had but one fixed system, that of serving his passions at the expense of all parties; and whom his own father denominated a tiger, doing mischief for the pleasure of doing it.

Reports were now industriously circulated among the people of the hindrances opposed to their representatives; and a violent spirit of dissatisfaction appearing in consequence; the king feared an insurrection and massacre. In this menacing and afflicting crisis the king wrote to the loyal part of the clergy in the following terms: "I call upon my faithful clergy to join the other orders without delay, to accelerate the accomplishment of my paternal wishes. Those who are restricted in their powers may go over to the common hall without voting, till they receive fresh

ones. This will be another proof of the clergy's attachment to me."

The king also wrote to the duke of Luxembourg, president of the nobility, in similar terms. The clergy replied, they would obey his majesty; but the nobility deliberated. They were about to vote for the maintenance of constitutional principles, when a letter from the count d'Artois declared the life of the king and royal family to be in danger if the union did not take place. "Let us go then," cried the members. Thus reluctantly yielding one of their ancient rights to the popular clamour, they seated themselves in the hall with the tiers-etat.

The assembly now renewed the oath never to separate until the great work of the constitution was finished.

The news of this union flew rapidly through the capital; and the inferior classes, who fancied they saw in the success of the tiers-etat the triumph of the people, as distinguished from the clergy and the nobility, were guilty of the greatest excesses. France now appeared to be divided into two great parties, *aristocrats* and *democrats;* and every day brought news, from the provinces, of insurrection, of the burning of country-seats and archives, of plunder and assassination. The effervescence at Paris was dreadful.

This alarming crisis rendered it actually necessary for the government to adopt measures for

the public safety; and marshal Broglio received orders to march ten or twelve thousand troops with cannon towards the capital, to be stationed beteen Versailles and Paris.

The constituent assembly contained within itself from the beginning five distinct parties; the royalists,—the deputies from the states of Dauphiné, where opposition to the form of the ancient constitution first appeared,—the Orleanists, who endeavoured to place the duke of Orleans on the throne,—the friends of M. Necker, who sought to establish the English constitution in France,—and the Breton club, which laboured in the propagation of revolutionary doctrines, instigating the people to burn the country-houses and massacre the nobility, headed by Chapelier, a debauchee and gambler, without character, who by his infamous conduct broke the heart of his father, and at length perished himself on the scaffold.

The approach of the military was instantly seized upon by the disaffected as the proper ground for inflaming still more the public mind. The assembly was convulsed by clamour, the interests of the people were declared in danger, and this became the pretext for whatever followed. The assembly sent a deputation to the king, desiring him to order away the troops, as their being quartered at Versailles and the neighbourhood restricted the freedom of speech.

The king replied, that the troops should never restrain the freedom of the states-general; that they were assembled solely for the purpose of curbing the licentiousness of the people, who had fallen into scandalous excesses; that they should retire whenever the magistrates of the police thought their remaining longer unnecessary.

On the tenth of July another deputation was sent to his majesty, with an address, composed by Mirabeau, on the same subject. To this the king replied, "If the necessary presence of the troops in the vicinity of Paris still gives any umbrage, I shall have no objection, on the assembly's requesting it to remove the states-general to Noyon or to Soisson; and in that case I would go to Compiègne, in order to keep up the communication between us." On the receipt of this message, Mirabeau ventured to attach to it the imputation of treachery. "To remove us to Noyon or Soisson," said he, "is to place us between two armies, that investing Paris, and that which would be let loose upon us from Flanders and Alsace."

The factions now considered the proper moment to have arrived for putting their plans in motion; and the sensation occasioned by the dismission of M. Necker from the ministry, whose opinions were thought in that juncture to court unsafely popular favour, became the signal for revolt. Scarcely had the news of a change in the ministry been announced, than the whole town

was in commotion; all the squares and coffee-houses were filled with people, manifesting the most alarming designs. "To arms!" became the general cry; and the green cockade (afterwards exchanged for one of blue, white, and red) was assumed as the livery of the rebels. The amusements at all the theatres, which had been begun, were suspended; the walks were deserted; the streets crowded with carriages, horses, soldiers, cannon, and the mob; the barriers were set on fire; the alarm-bell rung; and all Paris was in a state of rebellion.

The busts of the duke of Orleans and M. Necker were carried by the mob in procession through the streets, enveloped in crape. The duke, it was industriously reported, had been arrested, M. Necker banished, and they were called victims in the cause of the people.

The disposition manifested to revolt having demanded the presence of the troops, detachments of cavalry had been quartered in the town, and now patroled the streets; whilst a strong body of the Swiss guards and cannon occupied the Champs Elisées. In the afternoon some skirmishes took place between the people and the soldiers, in the Place de Louis XV.; and a detachment of the royal Allemand cavalry coming up at the time, and being assaulted with stones, charged the populace, and drove them into the garden of the Thuilleries. During the whole of this night

(July 12) terror and anxiety prevailed. On the thirteenth, the people were convened in the separate districts of the city by the alarm-bell, and a general meeting afterwards determined that a militia should be formed of forty-eight thousand men, in order to preserve the city from plunder, but which soon applied itself to very different purposes. These measures preserved the peace of Paris in some degree, although small gangs of robbers, availing themselves of the general confusion, committed various depredations; but they were immediately seized and hung in the Grève, the common place of execution, by the ropes used for fastening the lanterns; and hence arose the horrid cry of "à la lanterne!" as a signal for perpetrating the most barbarous murders. A most important attack had, however, been made on the Hotel des Invalides, by which twenty pieces of cannon and 30,000 stand of arms were placed in the hands of the multitude.

The proceedings of the people now wore a very serious aspect, it being resolved upon among them to proceed to the Bastille, in the siege of which, as a popular undertaking, there could be no doubt but all would readily unite.

Apprehensive of disturbances, the governor, the marquis de Launey, had a few days before arranged for its defence, by placing some additional guns upon the walls and ramparts. A quantity of small arms, balls, and cartridges had also been brought

in, besides two hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, for security. The garrison consisted of one hundred and fourteen men, cheifly invalids, besides the governor and servants.

About two in the morning of the thirteenth, the governor ordered the soldiers to occupy the castle, and placed sentinels at the gate leading to the street St. Anthony. During this day no act of violence was committed, but at night some guns were discharged at the guards who were stationed on the tower.

Early on the morning of the fourteenth the sentinels at the gate St. Anthony were taken prisoners by the people, and carried to the committee at the town-house. About ten in the morning three deputies came from the committee as far as the iron railing at the first draw bridge, and desired to speak with the governor, who went to them; but, seeing an immense crowd of people, he said that only the three deputies could be admitted, and offered to send out as many hostages, which was agreed to, while they were with the governor. Monsieur de la Roziere, a Parisian barrister, and first elector of the district of St. Louis, arrived, and, at his request, was admitted likewise. He said that he came to represent to the governor that the cannon pointed from the towers on different streets of the town had alarmed the inhabitants, and to solicit their being withdrawn. The governor urged the impossibility of his compliance with-

out orders from his superiors. He observed they were in places where they had been for many years past; but that, to quiet those alarms, he would order them to be drawn back within the parapet. Monsieur de la Roziere asked permission to go into the castle to see this done. The governor at first objected to this; but, being requested by Major de Losme, he consented. As soon as Monsieur de la Roziere was within the castle, he began to beseech the governor and garrison not to fire upon the people, but quietly to yield the place; to which it was answered, that they would certainly not fire unless attacked, and that the consequences must in that case rest with the aggressors. After staying a short time, and completing the object of his mission, which afterwards appeared to have been to ascertain the best mode of attack, he retired.

In about half an hour the people appeared in great numbers in the street St. Anthony, and in the Passage-court, armed with muskets, sabres, and hatchets, exclaiming, "They must have the Bastille!" "Down with the troops!" &c. The officers from the walls begged them to keep back, and represented the danger to which they were exposing themselves; they, however, persisted in advancing, and as there were no troops to defend it, they succeeded in getting down the first drawbridge. The garrison upon this called out to them again to retire, or they must fire upon them;

but they answered by continuing to advance, and firing on the soldiers. The garrison, upon this, returned the fire, and drove the insurgents back to the first drawbridge, from whence they kept up a constant fire upon the ramparts. Soon after this a flag was seen advancing from the arsenal, followed by an immense number of people in arms, some of whom halted in the first court, called the Court of the Elms, whilst others advanced to the next court, calling out to the garrison not to fire, as deputies were come from the town-house. Monsieur de Launay said that the deputies with the flag might advance, but desired the people in arms not to proceed beyond the first drawbridge. The soldiers on the walls called out that they would not fire, and, as a proof of it, clubbed their muskets. After many signs, and much entreaty, the people stopped, and the deputies advanced into the Passage-court, from whence they might have seen the soldiers on the towers with their clubbed firelocks, and a white flag, as the sign of peace. The deputies staid in the Passage-court about ten minutes without advancing, notwithstanding the soldiers on the towers called out to them, "Come and speak to the governor; we will be answerable for your safety with our lives!" and then returned to the Elm-court, where they staid about a quarter of an hour more, and went away.

The governor observed to the garrison, that

those could not be deputies sent from the town-house, but persons who wished to surprise them, for, if they had been, they would not have retired in the way they had done, after the assurances given them. The numbers now continued to increase, and in a short time the Elm-court, the Passage-court, which led to the first drawbridge, and the court beyond the drawbridge, were entirely full. They again pressed towards the drawbridge of the castle, and the garrison called to them as before, telling them that, if they persisted in advancing, they must be fired upon. They, however, proceeded, and the governor, at length, ordered the troops to fire; upon which several fell, and the rest fled a short distance, but continued firing on the battlements; others were employed in breaking open and plundering the barracks; and a short time after a quantity of straw was brought, with which they set fire to the guard-room, which was situated to the left, on the entrance of the court before the castle; to the governor's house, on the right, farther on; and to the kitchens, which were placed on the left, beyond the court, and nearer to the interior of the castle. A cannon was then fired at them, loaded with grape-shot, the only one which was discharged during the attack, the garrison defending the place with muskets only.

The French guards, who had been seduced from their allegiance, now appeared, bringing

with them a mortar, two four-pounders, and a cannon, inlaid with silver, which had been taken out of the king's garde-meubles. Monsieur de Launay having neglected to lay in provisions, and the people persisting in their determination to reduce the place, about four o'clock in the afternoon all the non-commissioned officers went and solicited the governor to surrender it. Finding himself in this extremity, he endeavoured to fire a pistol into the gunpowder that had been brought from the arsenal, and was deposited in the Tower de la Liberté, but was prevented by two serjeants. Monsieur de Launay asked the garrison what they wished him to do? He said, his own opinion was, that they ought to defend themselves to the last, and even blow up the place, rather than fall into the hands of a furious mob. But, as the garrison continued to insist on surrendering, he gave a white handkerchief to a serjeant, ordered him to shew it from the battlements, and sent a drummer at the same time to beat the chamade. His orders were strictly obeyed; but the populace, regardless of the signals, and rendered more courageous by the cessation of resistance, continued to fire. They soon after advanced to the drawbridge, and desired it might be let down. The officer who commanded the Swiss detachment spoke to them through a loop-hole at the side of the gate, and proposed that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms; but they

all exclaimed "No! no!" He then told them that the troops would deliver up the place and their arms, if they would promise that neither insult nor violence of any kind should be offered to them. The insurgents replied, "Let down the bridge; nothing shall happen to you." The governor, on this assurance, took the key out of his pocket, and ordered two corporals to let down the bridge. It was no sooner down than the people rushed into the court, and attacked the invalids who had laid down their arms, and were ranged along the wall on the right.

The Swiss were opposite to them, and escaped, not being immediately remarked, owing probably to the canvass frocks which they wore over their uniforms. The people then entered the apartments of the officers, where they broke the furniture, doors, and windows; and so great was the tumult and confusion, that many continued to fire, and, without intending it, killed and wounded their companions.

The officers and the invalid soldiers were seized and dragged towards the Grève. In an account, which some of them afterwards published, they thus describe these proceedings. "After humiliations of every kind, we saw, on arriving at the Grève, the bodies of two of our companions, who had been hanged. Some exclaimed, that we deserved the same fate, and in an instant a thousand persons demanded that we should be delivered

to them; but the soldiers of the French guards stepped forwards, and, surrounding us, desired that we might be spared. The people consented, and the guards then escorted us to one of their barracks in La Nouvelle France, gave us a supper and beds, and the next morning sent us to our hotel."

M. de Launay, the governor, was dragged from the Bastille to the Place de Grève, and miserably murdered. His death was afterwards described by Dénot, a Parisian cook, who was apprehended in January, 1790, and who deposed that he had followed the mob on the twelfth of July, when the busts of the duke of Orleans and M. Necker were carried through the streets; saw the people throwing stones at the troops, and afterwards witnessed the cavalry dispersing them sword in hand; that, hearing a musket fired, he was alarmed, and fell on his face; that afterwards, on getting up, he found a soldier's helmet, which he took up, put on, and brought home with him; that, on the morning of Tuesday the fourteenth, he was employed in bringing arms from the Hotel des Invalides; that afterwards, hearing that the people had gone to the Bastille, he went thither likewise, and was there informed that the people were conducting M. de Launay to the town-house; that he ran after them, and joined them at the arch St. John; that the people who were assembled before the town-house called out, "Hang him! hang him!"

that M. de Launay, who had hitherto kept his eyes cast down, on hearing this, lifted them up, and said, "Let them put me to death; I prefer that to these unmerited insults:" that immediately a number of persons unknown to him gave M. de Launay many wounds with swords and bayonets; that the people seeing him (the prisoner) with the helmet on, called out, "Come, dragoon, cut off his head!" that, though M. de Launay was now dead, he felt a great repugnance to do so; that he began to do it with a sword they gave him, but as it did not cut well, he finished it with a knife that he had in his pocket; that the head being put on the end of a pike, still pressed by the people, he carried it through the streets, and being joined by the person who in like manner carried the head of the provost of the merchants, they went with them to the Palais Royal, and afterwards to the Morgue; that, far from apprehending any blame for what he had done, he addressed himself to several deputies of the national assembly, expecting to have been rewarded with a medal for having freed society of a monster; and, that about an hour before he had beheaded M. de Launay, he had drunk a glass of brandy with gunpowder in it, which had turned his head.

Besides M. de Lannay, the people massacred M. de Losme Salbray, major of the Bastille; M. de Flesselles, provost of the merchants; M. de

Miray, aid-major, and M. Persan, lieutenant of invalids.

The people now, intoxicated with their successes, began to take measures for liberating the prisoners; but what was their astonishment when they found that those dreary dungeons, which they had expected to find crowded with the victims of despotism, contained but seven prisoners! Four of these had been placed there preparatory to their trial for an extensive forgery of bills of exchange; one a notorious offender, as a temporary punishment; one who was insane, and whom the mob afterwards sent to a mad-house; and the last, the count de Solages, who, by his own account, had been arrested at Toulouse, in Languedoc, by an order from the minister, granted at the request of his father, for dissipation, and other circumstances of misconduct. He did not seem to consider his confinement as unmerited, but he complained of having never received any account of his family from the time he had been arrested. He was first sent to Vincennes, and was removed from thence to the Bastille in February, 1784. Having heard the firing, he inquired of the turnkey who had just brought up his dinner, what it meant. He was told it was occasioned by a revolt of the people, on account of the scarcity of bread; but, while the turnkey was apologizing for being later than usual in bringing him his dinner, the room

was filled with armed men. It was some time before the count thought himself in safety, or could find any one sufficiently composed to relate the events of the day. He was removed to a hotel.

The people, of their own impulse, had destroyed the governor's house, and some of the other buildings at the Bastille. But and committee at the town-house resolved that the castle itself should be demolished. The city architects were appointed to conduct the work, and this immense edifice was soon levelled with the ground. Many cannon-balls were found in the walls, supposed to have been lodged there during the war of the Fronde, at the battle in the suburbs of St. Anthony, when the royal army was commanded by Turenne, and that of the Fronde by the great Condé.

The Bastille was begun to be built in 1369, by order of Charles V., and finished by his successor in 1383, as a state prison.

Upon the accession of Louis XVI. the registers were inspected, and most of the prisoners liberated, an act which, like many other of that monarch's humane measures, adorns his memory with a lasting honour.

CHAPTER III.

Dismissal of the Troops.—The King's visit to Paris, and Reception.—He returns to Versailles.—Recall of M. Necker.—Proceedings of the National Assembly.—Disorderly Appearance and Conduct of the Paris Militia and Mob at Versailles.—Outrages of the 5th and 6th of October.—Attack on the Palace.

THE intelligence of the success which had attended the efforts of the rioters in Paris, the desertion of the soldiery, and the arming of so large a body of private individuals, produced great consternation at Versailles; and the sovereign, with his counsellors, might now, in all probability, feel convinced, that the moment for vigour on their parts had been lost by a ruinous tenderness.

The national assembly, after long and eager debating, despatched a deputation to the king, with directions for them to use the most earnest entreaties in order to induce his majesty to send away the troops, which they represented as having given rise to the present disturbances. The king, distracted with new and alarming anxieties, at length consented, and ordered mareschal Broglio to withdraw his army. "Pity me, mareschal," said his majesty; "without finances, without sol-

diers, and able to depend only upon a small part of my subjects, is there a situation more unfortunate than mine?"

On hearing this, the mareschal, a sincere and faithful servant, shuddered at the dangers he foresaw, and did not hesitate to predict them. He proposed to the king to remove him with the royal family to Metz, pressed him, and at length prevailed upon him to consent. Their departure, which would have saved the monarch and his family, was appointed to take place the next morning at five o'clock. Depending on this determination, the mareschal went out at midnight to prepare every thing for executing it. In the interim the duke de Liancourt went to the king, and conjured him to relinquish his design; and being joined by several others, at length extorted from him a promise not to go. Mareschal Broglio, coming next morning at the hour appointed, found the determination changed, and, deeply impressed with the danger, fell upon his knees, in order to prevail on the king to go; but all was in vain.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon his majesty went to the national assembly unattended, and without ceremony, where he delivered the following words:—"Gentlemen, I assembled you to consult you upon the most important affairs of the state. There is none more pressing, or which more particularly affects my heart, than the dreadful disorders which reign in the capital. The head

of the nation comes with confidence into the midst of its representatives, to express his pain to them, and to invite them to fall upon means to re-establish order and tranquillity. I know that unjust prejudices have been raised; I know that some have dared to report that your persons are not safe. Could it be necessary to contradict such criminal reports contradicted in the face of them by my known character? Well then, I, who am but one with my people, I will trust myself to you. Assist me at this juncture to secure the safety of the state; I expect it from the national assembly: the zeal of the representatives of my people united for the common welfare assures me of it; and, depending upon the love and allegiance of my subjects, I have given orders for the troops to withdraw themselves from Paris and from Versailles. I authorize, nay, invite you to make my resolution known to the capital."

After loud acclamations from the tiers-etat, the president replied, and, recalling to the king's mind the late decisions of the assembly, declared their resolution to persist in them. "If the assembly," continued he, "have not the right of directing the monarch in the choice or dismission of his ministers, events have proved at least what woeful consequences may attend the dismission of a minister dear to the nation, or the appointment of those who possess not the confidence of the people. The representatives of the nation, added

he, will no more consent to the interposition of any intermediate agent between them and the king."

"Never," replied the king, feelingly, "have I refused to receive or hear the representatives of the nation." This answer by an immediate impulse excited affection and enthusiasm.

The king and his brothers, surrounded by deputies, returned on foot to the palace, amidst the shouts and blessings of an immense crowd, who afterwards reiterated their plaudits on the appearance of the royal family in the balcony.

In the evening his majesty sent to the assembly, informing them, that, yielding to the desire of his people, he intended going the next day to Paris; that his ministers had resigned their offices; and that he had written, desiring M. Necker to return.

Meanwhile the troops departed, and with them the safety of France. Mareschal Broglio and his staff went with them. The count d'Artois, the dukes of Angoulême and Berri, the prince of Condé, duke de Bourbon, and duke d'Enghien, received orders from the king to quit the kingdom, in order to save their lives. Some of the ministers and friends of the king and queen, and a part of their most attached servants, were also compelled to fly.

The state of Paris became now more and more critical and alarming: the barriers were closed, the regular authorities suspended, the streets lined with patroles and cannon, whilst hordes of

murderers carried dismay and consternation every where.

The 17th of July was the day fixed on by the king for going to Paris; and, although informed of plots against his life, he determined rather to risk himself than omit a step on which much might depend. He spent great part of the previous night in arranging his papers; and early in the morning, after attending to religious exercises, took an affecting leave of his family. At eleven o'clock he got into his coach, attended by the duke de Villeroi, mareschal de Beauveau, the marquis de Nesle, the duke de Villequier, and the count d'Estaing, a few guards, and a deputation of twenty-four members of the national assembly. The road was lined with people, many of them armed; among whom were seen persons and weapons of every kind. When the king had reached the barrier of Paris called de la Conférence, the people demanded that his body-guard should not proceed further, and he was met by Bailly, who had succeeded the Prévôt des Marchands, but under the title of Mayor, who brought the king the keys, in a golden basin, and addressed him with these words:—"Sire, I bring your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris: they are the same that were presented to Henry IV., your illustrious ancestor. He conquered his people; now the people have conquered their king."

The procession now moved on, during which several pieces of cannon announced the king's arrival, amidst the shouts of "Vive la Nation!" The king's carriage stopped at the Hotel de Ville, where his majesty alighted. Here Bailly presented him the tri-coloured cockade. To have refused it would have been the signal for regicide; he took it, upon which, for the first time were heard shouts of "Vive le Roi!" which continued several minutes. The king, with those who were about him, made way with difficulty through the crowd on the great steps. He had to pass under a vault of pikes, drawn swords, and muskets, most of them in the hands of awkward persons; some in liquor, others in a sort of delirium.

On entering the great hall, the king went and sat down in the chair prepared for him. Bailly approached his majesty; and, having received his orders, announced that the king was come to tranquillize the public mind, and restore order; a declaration which was answered by reiterated peals of "Vive le Roi!" After a congratulatory speech by the count de Lally Tollendal, his majesty appeared at a window wearing the national cockade; and, being greeted every where with acclamations, returned to Versailles, where his safe arrival produced the greatest joy not only in the several branches of the royal family, but amongst the people.

Notwithstanding, however, the pacific wishes

of the monarch, and his willingness to yield whatever the welfare of the people might demand, those who were desirous of revolt and uproar did not cease to propagate their designs. Reports were industriously circulated throughout France that brigands had dispersed themselves over the country, and that there could be no safety but in arms. Alarmed by these representations, the whole kingdom began to take means for defence, every man on his own behalf; and in a few days three millions of men were equipped for the popular, but undefined, object of defending the nation.

At Paris, the public agitation was a little subsiding. The assembly, full of triumph, received congratulatory addresses from several parts of the country; and, notwithstanding the strong spirit of insubordination which prevailed in many of its members, voted a sort of proclamation, addressed to the people; in which, after holding up the king as in every view entitled to their love and confidence, they exhorted them to peace and order, until their rights were restored and secured by a new constitution, which it had now become the business of their representatives to prepare.

The favourite minister of the people, M. Necker, was now on his return from the frontiers. His journey across the kingdom was a triumphal march: he was received every where with ecstacy. The troops were under arms, cannon fired, and numerous deputations commissioned to salute

him. His motives and conduct have been variously represented; his own reflections on arriving at the king's residence are these:—"On my return to Versailles, while I was remarking and examining the disposition of people's minds, and reflecting on the late revolution in political sentiments, I perceived that, in the space of three weeks, the social system of France had changed its form and direction, and I was under the necessity of studying it, and squaring my conduct accordingly. There existed as before a monarch, a people, a representative assembly; but the respective degrees of power and authority were no longer the same*."

M. Necker, on his arrival at Paris, received the same marks of public approbation which he had experienced during his journey, and, having presented himself to the assembly, solicited the release of several persons who had been seized, and were designed as victims during the late tumults. He proposed a general amnesty for the past, which was unanimously assented to by acclamation, and announced in conjunction with the declaration, that the assembly would set their faces against every act of violence, and that, in future, they should consider those alone as the enemies of the nation who, by excesses, disturbed public order.

* Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. 229.

M. de la Fayette presented a declaration of the rights of man, and on the 4th of August the assembly passed a decree, ordaining that a declaration of the rights of man, and of a citizen, should be placed at the head of the code of the French constitution.

The doctrines of liberty and equality having thus begun to actuate the assembly, charmed with the idea of destroying all distinctions, they decreed on the same day the abolition of feudal rights, tithes, subsidies, land and poll tax, salt duties, aids, &c., with most of the indirect taxes. A medal was ordered to be struck, bearing these words, "To the abolition of all privileges; to the perfect union of all the provinces, and of all citizens;" and thus, in effect, fell the monarchy of France. It was not yet, however, the proper moment for destroying its representative, and the king was complimented with the title of Restorer of Liberty; and a *Te Deum* was sung in the chapel at Versailles, which the national assembly attended, the king being also invited.

From this sitting may be dated the complete disorganization of the kingdom. The people thought themselves freed from all obedience and taxes;—murder, plunder, and burning, were renewed. There was nothing now throughout the country but insurrections of the peasantry against their lords, and persecutions of priests, magistrates, and the king's officers, in every part of

public administration. No money could be brought into the royal treasury.

The king was now rapidly losing his authority, and that mildness of character which he at all times displayed forbad him the use of force for its retention. In the assembly it was debated, with much contention, whether the sanction of the king, or royal veto, should be at all, or to what extent, necessary in the formation of new laws. The question was largely discussed; and it was at length decreed that the king should possess a suspensive veto, or power to reject, whose effect should cease after the dissolution of two successive legislatures.

The distressing scarcity of provisions, which existed throughout this period, aiding the financial embarrassments of the nation, continued to afford those, who sought for private ends, fresh opportunities of producing the most dreadful agitations. A customary civility among the soldiers at Versailles, that of entertaining each other by a dinner, where they displayed the white cockade, was now represented as a proper ground for the jealousy of the people. Designs were said to be yet meditating against their growing liberty; and that the king was about to quit Versailles, and place himself at the head of an army. The infamous faction of the Orleanists were at the root of this plot, as became afterwards pretty evident. The duke of Orleans never

appeared in public but he was immediately surrounded by a crowd shouting—"Vive le Roi d'Orleans! Vive le Père du Peuple!"

On the morning of the 5th of October, the leaders of the factions, who were absolute masters of the motions of the people, gave the signal. Of a sudden a band of furies set out parading every part of the town, crying "Bread! bread!" The populace soon followed, and tumultously repaired to the Hotel de Ville, which, after forcing the doors, they attempted to set on fire. The alarm-bell was rung in all the churches; drums beat to arms through every street. The municipality and the national guards assembled; a cry demanded that they should proceed to Versailles, and at five o'clock in the afternoon their march began; an immense number of the lowest rabble had preceded them by three hours, armed with pikes, sabres, pistols, daggers, &c.

The king received intelligence of these events at Meudon, whither he had gone that day for an excursion; and after reading the letter which contained it, from the count de St. Priest, he said to those about him. "I hear that there is a tumult at Paris, and that troops of women are coming to ask me for bread. Can they think that if I had any at my disposal, I should want their asking it?" After consulting with his ministers, couriers were despatched to Paris; but they found the roads cut

off; they were stopped, searched, and the letters from the king and the ministers taken from them, and read publicly.

These movements of the people were evidently connected with proceedings in the assembly. The king, on this very night, sent his reply to the declaration of that body, giving his consent conditionally only to the articles proposed as the basis of the new constitution, protesting against any inroad on the royal, as the supreme authority. This reply became the ground of tumult. The factious assumed violent agitation. "Liberty," said one of them, "is attacked. It is a tree that cannot grow unless it be watered with blood." The queen was also alluded to. Reports were now brought to the assembly of the approach of the mob and the Parisian army; and about four o'clock, as the assembly was terminating its sitting, hordes of women and brigands rushed into the hall, crying, "Bread! bread!" Maillard, the speaker of these furies, standing at the bar, cried, "We come to ask for bread; we come to desire that the body-guards, who insulted the patriotic cockade, may be punished." "To supply Paris with provisions," said the president, "is the object of the joint solicitude of the national assembly, and of the king." Here the sitting was suspended.

Between five and six o'clock in the evening, a multitude of women were perceived, through a thick fog, in the Paris avenue; they took the way to the palace. On the news of the approach of the Parisian troops, the drums beat the *Generale*, and the iron gates of the court were locked. The body-guards were ordered to defend them. The regiment of Flanders, the chasseurs of the Trois Evéchés, the hussars of Berchiny, and the national guard, were drawn up in order of battle in the square of the palace. A deputation of women went up to the iron railing of the royal court: the president of the assembly was among them, and the gate was opened to them.

When come to the chamber called the Œil de Bœuf, the deputation wished to see the king, who was then closeted with his ministers. They sent him a message that they were arrived, and his majesty permitted one of the women to be introduced. She, who was admitted had not in her countenance and clothes any appearance of want or poverty. She made a short speech, which she concluded with saying, that the people of Paris had deputed her and others to ask the king for bread. His majesty promised that orders should be given to the directors of the military magazines at Corbeil and Estampes to deliver what corn and flour they could possibly spare.

The woman went out and communicated this

reply to the rest, who would not believe it, unless the answer was written with the king's own hand. This also the king condescended to.

Scarcely were these women, happy, as they said, in bearing the order written by their good king out of the palace, when a new group of females forced the entrance of the court. They carried along with them an officer of the body-guards, and, in spite of every resistance, made their way into the council-chamber. The king had left it; but it was not without difficulty that they were got rid of.

Alarms now multiplied, and various and contradictory reports filled the minds of the peaceable with consternation. About six o'clock in the evening, a soldier of the Paris militia endeavoured to break the line of the body-guards. As the guards knew they must either kill him or suffer him to pass, and as they had strict orders not to use violence or provoke attack, they suffered him to pass, as the iron gate would prevent his entry to the palace. When he arrived at the gate, he attempted to kill the Swiss sentinel who guarded it, by thrusting his sword at him through the bars, because he refused to admit him. The marquis de Savonnieres, sub-lieutenant of the body-guards, then rode up to him, and complained of this act of violence; when the soldier made a blow at him, and cut his horse's crupper through. The officer returned the blow with the flat of his sword, and

the soldier falling, pretending to be wounded; immediately a gun was discharged at the marquis, which broke his arm.

This was the signal for massacre. The body-guards, although they made no attempt to revenge their officer, were immediately assaulted by a discharge of musquetry, which wounded many, both men and horses; and was followed by shouts of joy from among the rabble.

The king, apprized of the perilous situation of his faithful soldiers, but still actuated by a humanity which only increased his own danger, ordered the body-guards to retire to their hotel. This was done in the hope of conciliating the people; but the Versailles militia were dastardly enough to continue firing upon them, although they retreated without returning a single shot, and even followed them to their stables.

In this perilous moment, urged by the president, and desirous of removing all ground for dissatisfaction in the assembly, the king gave his unconditional consent to the articles they had presented to him. This was read in the assembly with the greatest applause.

Alarmed for the safety of the palace, some of the ministers recommended the flight of the royal family; but this measure was regarded by the king with extreme repugnance. Matters were, however, at one time carried so far, as that the carriages were ordered out; but, says M. Necker,

"the traces having been cut or taken away by the people of Versailles, who wished at all hazards to oppose the departure of the court, fresh doubts arose, and a second consultation was resolved upon. Within the palace there was a general agitation, and the queen, in the space of a few hours, held two directly contrary opinions. The king, surrounded and preceded by his guards, would, I think, have overcome any resistance from the people; but the excellent disposition of the prince would not allow him to be the occasion and witness of a tumult, where the effusion of blood would probably be inevitable; however, at a time and in circumstances where even the king's person might be exposed, it is evident that he must necessarily decide for himself, and he resolved to remain at Versailles." It was then advised that the queen and her children should immediately go to Rambouillet, a palace eight leagues from Versailles; but she replied, "The king's person is in danger; I never will abandon him: be his fate what it may, I will share it. Do they seek for my death? I shall know how to face it."

About seven o'clock at night, the duke de Fronsac arrived on foot at the palace, and confirmed the report of Paris being in the most violent agitation, and of the barriers being shut. "It was with great difficulty," said he, "and under disguise, that I passed them. As soon as I was

out, I endeavoured, by taking by-paths, to walk on the side of the Parisian army, and to form a judgment of its force; I think there are about ten thousand men in it, most of them regularly armed; they have cannon, and march in tolerable order."

Between ten and eleven o'clock the van-guard of the Parisian army reached the gates of the palace. Their commander, M. de la Fayette, who said he had no other choice than either to accept of that office, or death at the Place de Grève, went into the palace, and found the king surrounded by his ministers, and the apartments crowded by his most faithful servants, who had assembled to defend him. In a respectful manner he assured his majesty of the purity of his intentions, and of those of the guards he commanded; promising, at the same time, that if the posts which had been hitherto held by the troops of the line were surrendered to him, he would engage to maintain order. To this proposal his majesty felt compelled to assent, and M. de la Fayette left the apartment with an air of satisfaction. As he passed, he shook several of the body-guard by the hand, saying, "Gentlemen, all is arranged; the late French guards are going to resume their posts at the palace; it is the king's pleasure that you shall mount the national cockade to-morrow."

After the king had given audience to M. de la Fayette, and the posts of the palace had been resigned to the French guards, the body-guards

were ordered from the royal court (where they had been assembled on the approach of the Parisian army) to the terrace, from whence they were afterwards removed to Trianon, and finally to Rambouillet, in order to save them from the massacre by which they were threatened.

About two o'clock M. de la Fayette, assuring the king that perfect tranquillity had now been established, prevailed on him to retire. As soon as the king was alone, says M. Hue, he sent for me, and desired me to go to the queen. "Tell her from me," said he, "to be easy on the state of things at the moment, and to go to bed; I am going to do so."

M. de la Fayette prevailed also on the assembly to adjourn by his assurances of security, although during the whole night the soldiers, as well as the mob by which they were attended, had manifested the most disorderly temper. Whatever scarcity might prevail at Paris (and that was known to be greatly increased by the artifices of the duke of Orleans), no appearance of want was to be seen among the unwelcome visitants at Versailles: their partisans took care that they should possess abundance. An immense supply of bread and meat was distributed among them, together with strong liquors; and the night being rainy, they filled the public houses, coffee-houses, and even penetrated the courts of private dwellings. They filled the church and the offices adjoining,

where they made mock processions, placing their profane orators in the pulpit alternately; and so little did they cloak their intentions, that parties paraded about for the purpose of pointing out their intended victims, one of which was heard to say, under the windows of the house of M. Mounier, "Enter this house; an aristocrat lives here, whose head you must cut off."

From three o'clock till half-past five in the morning every thing seemed hushed; those who could be prevailed upon to feel secure had retired to rest, and those who could not, kept within their dwellings, the silent watch of fearful expectation. Without, parties of brigands and poissards assembled, carousing each around a fire, many of which were to be seen blazing in the air at short distances. About six o'clock the different groups united, and, after a short time spent in previous arrangements, rushed impetuously forward towards the hotel of the body-guards, shouting, "Kill the body-guards! give no quarter!" The hotel was forced open in an instant, and several of the unhappy men murdered. Those who endeavoured to escape were pursued like wild beasts, and fifteen, having been seized, were taken to the iron gate of the court before the palace, where part of them were instantly massacred, and the rest reserved only whilst the ruffians who held them could agree as to the mode of killing them. The main body of the rioters now approached,

and overwhelmed with the fury of a torrent every thing which impeded their progress. They occupied all the courts, and penetrated the interior of the palace, shouting, "The queen's head!—Down with the queen!—Louis shall no longer be king!—We will not have him; we want the duke of Orleans, he will give us bread!" Fish-women, furies, bellowed, "Where is this jade?—Let us carry her alive or dead!—We will look you in the face, Marie Antoinette!—You have danced for your own pleasure, you are now going to dance for ours!—Let us cut her throat;—let's cut off her head;—Let us eat her heart!" One of these wretches drawing a sickle from under her apron, there was a cry of "That will do to despatch her!"

The assassins immediately rushed towards the queen's apartments. It is said that a deputy dared to point with his finger to the door. The sentinel, M. Durepaire, one of the body-guards, defended it; but, assailed by a multitude, and covered with wounds, he was soon stretched upon the floor. Miomandre de Ste. Marie took his post, made a bar to the entrance of the bed-chamber with his musket, and, opening one of the folding-doors, called in a loud voice, "Save the queen!" At these words he received several blows, which felled him to the ground. The moment he was down, one of the wretches made the crowd stand back, and, cooly measuring his

distance, struck the guard so violent a blow with the butt-end of the musket that the lock stuck in his head. Some of the queen's women, whom their attachment had kept all night with their august mistress, having hastily awaked her, her majesty hurried on a petticoat, threw a counterpane over her shoulders, and, by a passage of communication, escaped to the king's apartment. In the way she heard these cries, "She must be hanged!—her throat must be cut!" At the same instant a gun and a pistol were fired. The queen was hardly out of her chamber when the door was forced in. The assassins entered the apartment: and, throwing aside the bed-curtains with their pikes, they found that the blow they had intended to strike had come too late; enraged at the disappointment, they vented their fury in a thousand imprecations.

Trembling for his son's life, the king ran to his chamber, and carried him away in his arms. In his way through a dark subterraneous passage, the light went out. "Take hold of my night-gown," said the king calmly to the woman who attended the dauphin. Having made his way back to his apartment, he there found the queen, madame Royale, Monsieur, Madame, madame Elizabeth, and the marquise de Tourzel. Thus united, the royal family waited with less terror the fate which threatened them.

The king, hearing that some of his guards were

killed, went into his balcony, and spoke to the people in their behalf. Such of the guards as were in the apartment appeared after his majesty, and by his order threw their bandoliers to the people. The king chose also that they should wear the tri-coloured cockade. The very people who, a little before, breathed only carnage, now shouted "Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes du Corps!"

M. de la Fayette now waited upon the king, and requested him, in the name of the people, to go that very day, and fix his residence at Paris, painting to him in the most terrifying colours the dangers of a refusal. Compelled to consent to every thing, the king again appeared in the balcony, and announced with his own lips that he was going to set off with his family for the capital. Some persons among the people called "The queen, the queen!" on which her majesty appeared, holding the dauphin with one hand, and madame Royale with the other. The same voices cried "No children!" The children were sent in, and the daughter of the Cæsars, standing alone, majestically cast her eyes around upon the multitude. The effect was instantaneous and irresistible. The people, struck with admiration, burst into exclamations of applause, and the assassins were completely disconcerted.

The storm now gradually subsided. Early in the morning, at the king's request, a motion had

been made in the assembly for transferring the sitting to the palace; but this the factions rejected, voting only a deputation of thirty-six members to attend his majesty. They carried to the palace the decree by which the person of the king was declared inseparable from the representatives of the nation, and received from his majesty the intelligence that he was about to go to Paris, whither he would give the necessary orders for removing the assembly.

CHAP. IV.

Removal of the Royal Family and the Assembly to Paris.—Riots in the capital.—Martial Law proclaimed, and Tranquillity restored.—Destructive Proceedings of the Assembly.

EVERY thing being ready for the departure of the royal family, at one o'clock the King, Queen, Dauphin, Madame Royale, Monsieur, the king's brother, Madame, madame Elizabeth, and the marquise de Tourzel, left the palace. For a retinue, they were preceded by trains of artillery, with ammunition and provisions, brigands armed with pikes, and drunken women with their hair hanging loose, and covered with mud and blood, riding on the cannon, or mounted on the horses of the body-guards, some in cuirasses, others with guns and swords: they shouted frightfully, and sang obscene songs. A body of horse, intermixed with deputies, soldiers, grenadiers, and women, surrounded the carriage. Behind were two hundred body-guards disarmed, without hat or bandoleer, walking one by one between two grenadiers; some of the *Cent-Suisses*, privates of the regiment of Flanders, dragoons and soldiers The royal family could not lift up their eyes

without seeing cannon, loaded with canister shot, pointed at their carriage.

The ghastly heads of the two brave body-guards, M. Deshuttes and M. Varicourt, who so courageously died in defence of the king and his family, were carried on pikes between the two monsters who prided themselves on having been the murderers. The chopper-off of heads, a man with a long beard, of a savage aspect, his arms naked up to the elbows, and his hands and clothes smeared with gore, followed, bearing an axe dyed with blood, the instrument of his cruelty. M. de la Fayette commanded.

The journey was one continued scene of insult and of horror; and, as they passed through the village of Sèves, they had the inconceivable barbarity to get the hair of the two lifeless heads dressed and powdered. The tremendous journey was made to last six hours, that the spectacle of a king led captive by a lawless rabble might lose nothing of its disgusting triumph.

On arriving at Paris, the king was met at the barrier by the mayor (Bailly), who addressed him thus :—

" Sire,—This is a glorious day, in which your majesty comes to your capital with your august consort, and with a prince who will be good and just, like Louis XVI. Permit the mayor of Paris, sire, to express the wish of the capital. The moments your majesty gives us, however short, are

precious to us; but it is your constant presence we desire; it is all your moments your people ask. If your majesty deign to grant us this favour, the capital will recover the fairest and most valued of its advantages. Already have your majesty's paternal cares been exerted repeatedly to prevent a scarcity. Your majesty will be the witness of our fidelity. In your presence shall we see return order, peace, and all the amiable and gentle virtues which your example must inspire. In short, in the reign of Louis XVI., the king shall be powerful through his people, and the people happy through their king."

His majesty replied, "It is always with pleasure and with confidence that I come to my good city of Paris."

Proceeding slowly, the royal family at length arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, where they went into one of the halls, shewed themselves to the people, and spoke a few words. From the Hôtel de Ville they were carried to the palace of the Thuileries. Monseigneur and Madame went to the Luxembourg. The king's aunts, madame Adelaïde and madame Victoire of France, settled at the palace of Belle-Vue. The countess d'Artois had set out the month before for Turin, in order to join the prince her husband.

For some days after the king's arrival at Paris, the people were extravagant in their transports of joy at his return. Those who desired the re-esta-

blishment of peace and order fondly hoped for the accomplishment of their wishes through the royal presence; and those who cherished adverse designs rejoiced at possessing the king and his household within a city where popular tumult had already done so much.

The king now wrote to the assembly, requesting them to appoint a commission for choosing some convenient place at Paris for their sittings. This being done, they removed thither, and met for the first time, on the 19th of October, in the great hall of the archiepiscopal palace.

The king's first care was to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all that concerned the supplying of the capital with provisions. The queen also endeavoured to sooth, by particular acts of kindness, the fermentation which had been excited in the minds of the people.

An inquiry was instituted by the commune of Paris, for the purpose of ascertaining the authors, accomplices, and abettors of the outrages committed on the 6th of October.

The commissioners waited on the queen to receive her deposition. She replied, "I saw all, I heard all, I have forgotten all." About four hundred witnesses were examined, whose evidences finally failed of individual convictions. The deputies of the Châtelet carried the documents to the national assembly, where it was pronounced, that, on examination of the charges, there did

not appear to be any grounds for an impeachment!

The want of bread in the capital was now greater than ever. The supplies, being partly stopped by the Orleanists, were not sufficient for the daily demands. The people, in their despair, threatened the unfortunate bakers; and a general insurrection had been planned for the 19th of October. Most of the bakers, seduced or intimidated, agreed to bake no bread in the night preceding. The few who dared to act otherwise had their shops assailed and pillaged as soon as it was day. Had it not been for the exertions of the national guards, these bakers would inevitably have all lost their heads. One only was murdered. He was dragged to the Place de Grève, and hanged on a lamp-iron; his head was afterwards carried about on a pike.

These disorders taught the mayor and commune, the commander of the national guard, and the assembly itself, the danger of anarchical fury. On this occasion, a motion was made in the assembly for decreeing martial law. It was in vain opposed by the leaders of the ruling party; the decree was carried.

After this, the popular effervescence seemed to subside. A fresh supply of provisions,—the repeated charities of the king and royal family,—and perhaps, too, a remnant of love for the sovereign,—appeared to renew better sentiments among the people.

The assembly voted an address to the king and queen, expressive of their attachment; in which the former was denominated "the best friend of the nation." Their sittings were removed from the archiepiscopal palace to the old riding-house of the Thuileries, where the overthrow of the monarchical constitution was completed. All the ancient institutions, of whatever kind, fell beneath the redoubled strokes of the factions. The decrees by which they were suppressed followed each other like lightning; and in a few months the work of fourteen centuries was demolished.

The provinces were not only stripped of their privileges, but were even deprived of their old boundaries. The thirty-two governments were superseded by eighty-three departments, divided, according to population or wealth, into three, five, seven, or nine districts, and called after the seas, woods, rivers, or rocks, within their limits, or by which they were bounded: each department had its bishop, its administrative bodies, and civil and criminal courts. The internal government of the towns, boroughs, and villages, was under the authority of forty-four thousand municipalities, invested with full power to do harm, and with hardly any to do good. Tribunals of a new kind were substituted for the old courts of judicature. The church was separated from the state; and the refusal of the clergy to take the oath required of them, soon furnished a pretext for

their proscription. The excesses of anarchy compelled Frenchmen to seek an asylum in foreign countries; and tyranny confiscated the property of those compelled to fly. The king's expenses were fixed by a civil list, and his majesty was deprived at once of his domains, and of the direction of the royal treasury.

To fill the gulf, which was made deeper and deeper by the depredations of usurping power, the assembly created a paper money, which they called assignats. The first issue amounted to four hundred millions, the second to eight hundred millions, and subsequent ones to incalculable sums, thrown almost immediately into circulation. The paper was hardly fabricated quick enough for the issuings of this money. In a short time the consequence of it was felt in all commercial transactions. There was no longer any equilibrium between the price of provisions and that of work; between private income and expenditure.

All the classes of society were in a most alarming state. It was to no purpose that the altar and the throne found intrepid defenders among the three orders; crimes were permitted by the majority of the assembly, and iniquity triumphed.

On the 4th of February, 1790, the king was prevailed upon by the representation that his refusal would bring on a civil war, to identify himself with the revolutionists, by declaring, in a speech

to the assembly on that day, that he wished it to be every where known that the same interest and the same object united the monarch and the representatives of the nation; that he did not doubt that the respect due to religion and its ministers would be maintained; and he promised to support constitutional liberty, and, in concert with the queen, who partook his sentiments, early to form the mind and heart of his son to the new order of things produced by circumstances.

This sitting gave new strength to the factious majority. Shaking off that remnant of circumspection which at times had fettered their progress, they now advanced with giant strides, and were not afraid of disclosing their projects. They hastened to decree the sale of all the estates of the clergy, the spoliation of the churches, and the suppression of the religious orders, and of the monasteries. From the order of the clergy they fell on that of the nobility, which they abolished by a decree, with its titles, armorial bearings, and liveries. On the 14th of July the grand act of union took place, by which the whole of the French people were made more intimately parties to the demolitions which were carried on in the capital.

The civic festival of the general federation of the national guards of France took place on that day. The preparations were very magnificent; and the king took the following oath: "I promise to be faithful

to the nation and to the law, and to maintain with all my power the articles of the constitution decreed by the national assembly." The oath designed for each was taken by the assembly and the various federates, which being announced by sound of cannon to the multitudes who, on that day, flocked to the Champ de Mars, was communicated by the same instantaneous means from station to station throughout the whole of France. Thus was rebellion, under the title of constitutional liberty, (which meant whatever the reigning faction chose,) rendered general, and each succeeding act of spoliation and violence sanctioned by the character of legality.

The princesses Adelaide and Victoire of France, the king's aunts, seeing affairs grow worse every day, determined to leave the kingdom; and on the 19th of February, 1791, they quitted Paris. They were stopped at Arnay-le-Duc, whence they were obliged to address the assembly, who sanctioned their departure, and they arrived at Rome in safety.

CHAP. V.

The Royal Family quit Paris for Montmedi.—Are discovered and made Captives at Varennes.—Return to Paris.

THE king and the royal family experiencing new and repeated insults from the factions, especially that by which he was forcibly prevented from retiring to St. Cloud on the 18th of April, as he often had done before, induced his best friends to think it necessary to take measures for securing his majesty's person and family.

For a long time various plans for the flight of the king had been secretly agitated, which he had invariably refused; but at length, driven to despair by the conduct of the revolutionists, he determined on adopting that which was contrived by the marquis de Bouille.

The marquis de Bouille thus describes the communication which he had with his majesty:—"On the 27th of May, the king wrote me word that he proposed setting out on the 19th of the following month, between twelve at night and one in the morning; that he should proceed on a common coach as far as Bondi, which was one post from Paris, and there take his own carriage. At this place likewise was to be stationed one of his gardes-du-corps, intended to serve as a

courier, with instructions, in case the king did not reach Bondi by two o'clock (a certain proof that he had not been able to effect his escape), to proceed directly to Pont-de-Somvèle, to announce the circumstance, in order that I might be informed of it, and have time to provide both for my own safety, and that of all those concerned with me. The king added, that if he should not be recognised on the road, and there should be no movement among the people, then he would pass incognito, and make no use of the escort, which might follow him a few hours after*."

This plan was put in motion with the most minute precaution; and on the night between the 20th and 21st of June the king and royal family quitted Paris. To favour their escape, they carried a passport in the name of a baroness de Korff and suite, as travelling to Frankfort; and in this way passed safely a distance of one hundred and fifty-six miles, until they approached within a few leagues of their intended asylum. Here their anxieties were interrupted, and their fears realized. At Varennes, the royal fugitives were recognised and arrested. The following is the account which was afterwards given by M. Drouet, postmaster at St. Menehoud, to the national assembly.

"I am the postmaster of St. Menehoud, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé; my comrade

* Bonille's Memoirs, p. 330.

William was formerly a dragoon of the queen's regiment. On the 21st of June, at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, two carriages and eleven horses baited at my house: I thought I recognised the queen; and, perceiving a man at the back part of the carriage on the left, I was struck with the resemblance of his countenance to the king's effigy on an assignat of fifty livres.

"These carriages were conducted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under pretence of protecting a treasure. This escort confirmed me in my suspicions; particularly when I saw the commander of the detachment speak with great animation to one of the couriers. However, fearing to excite false alarms, being alone, and having no opportunity of consulting any one, I suffered the carriages to depart; but, seeing immediately the dragoons making preparation to follow them, and observing, that, after having asked horses for Verdun, the carriages took the road to Varennes, I went to my comrade, and told him what I had seen, and that I proposed to follow them; he readily offering to accompany me, we instantly mounted our horses, and, taking a cross road, arrived before them at Varennes. It was eleven o'clock at night, very dark, and every one gone to bed. The carriages were stopped in the street by a dispute which had taken place between the postilions and the postmaster of the town. The

postmaster was desirous for them to stop and refresh their horses, according to custom; the king, on the contrary, wished to hasten his departure.

"We stopped at the sign of the Golden Arm, and calling for the landlord, M. le Bianc, I took him aside, and said to him, "Are you a staunch patriot?" "Don't doubt it," replied he, "Well," said I, "the king is at Varennes; he must be stopped." We then alighted, and reflected that, in order to secure success to our plan, it was necessary to barricade the street, and the bridge by which the king was to pass.

My companion and I then went to the bridge of Varennes. Fortunately we found a carriage there loaded with furniture. We overturned it, so as to render the road impassable. In the mean time le Bianc had been to the procureur de la commune, the mayor, the commander of the national guard; and, in a few minutes, our number increased to eight men, who were all hearty in the cause.

"The commander of the national guard, accompanied by the procureur, approached the carriage, asked the travellers who they were, and where they were going. The queen petulantly answered they were in a hurry. A sight of the passport was then demanded. She at length gave her passport to one of the guards, who alighted, and came to the inn.

"When the passport was read, some said it

was sufficient. We combated this opinion, because it was not signed by the president of the national assembly, as it should have been. "If you are a foreigner," said we to the queen, "how came you to have sufficient influence to have a detachment follow you? How came you, when you passed through Clermont, to have sufficient influence to be followed by a first detachment?"

"In consequence of these reflections and our perseverance, it was determined that the travellers should not proceed till the following day. They alighted at the house of the procureur. The procureur then produced a picture of the king, and asked him if that was not his portrait. His majesty, then throwing off his disguise, replied,— "My friends, I am indeed your king; I have fled from Paris, from poignards, and from bayonets; I have determined to take refuge in the provinces, where I hope to find loyalty and respect. My route is for Montmedi; I have no intention of leaving the kingdom; I entreat you not to impede my journey. These are my wife and children; we conjure you to treat us with that respect which the French have ever shewn their kings."

"The national guards immediately came in crowds, and at the same time the hussars arrived sword in hand. They endeavoured to approach the house where the king was; but we let them know, that, if they persisted in taking him away, they should not tear him from us alive.

"The commander of the national guard had the precaution to bring up two small field-pieces, which he planted at the upper end of the street, and two others at the lower end, so that the hussars would be between two fires. They were summoned to dismount. M. Jouglas refused. He said that he and his troops would guard the king. He was answered, that the national guards would protect him, without his assistance. He persisted in his resolution; upon which the commander of the national guards gave orders to the gunners to form their ranks, and to fire. They took the matches in their hands; but I have the honour to observe to you that the cannons were not then loaded. In a word, the commander of the national guards, and the troops under him, acted so judiciously, that they contrived to disarm the hussars. The king was then made a prisoner.

On the morning of the 21st every tongue in Paris was telling the news of the king's flight. Anxiety, apprehension, and stupor, were seen on all faces. The assembly alone, or rather the factious majority of it, affected an air of security. In the course of the sitting, a declaration found on the king's table was brought to them: the whole of it was in his majesty's hand-writing.

This declaration recapitulated the insults which had been successively thrown upon the royal office and authority; and stated, that as it was now impossible for the king to do good, or prevent evil,

it behoved him to find a place of safety for himself and family.

On the reading of this paper in the assembly, the first thing which presented itself was the idea of preventing the king from fulfilling his intentions. Couriers were therefore immediately despatched on every road, with orders to arrest all who might be leaving the kingdom. Proclamation was also made at Paris, by sound of trumpet, to announce that the assembly was occupied on the measures proper to be adopted in that alarming crisis, and strongly recommending the preservation of the public tranquillity.

The alarm-bell now rang from one end of France to the other; couriers were seen flying on all the roads. "The king is fled!" was repeated on every side, in connexion with the most indignant and abusive appellations.

The uncertainty of the public mind was but of short duration. On the 22d, at night, a courier, despatched by the municipality of Varennes, brought intelligence to the assembly that the king had been arrested, and was on his way back to Paris. Three commissioners were appointed to go on the road, to adopt such precautions as they should think necessary, and to take care that the king returned to the capital.

The day on which the king was to arrive in the capital, says M. Hue, notwithstanding the order given that nobody was to be allowed to enter the garden of the Thuileries, I found means to get in.

It was ordered that the royal family should be received by the national guard with their firelocks clubbed, and by the people with their hats on. The order was executed. An immense, but silent multitude, thronged every place through which the train passed. In the king's carriage were the royal family, the marquise de Tourzel, and M. Barnave, one of the commissioners from the national assembly; the other two, Messrs. Petion and Latour Maubourg, followed in the next carriage. The courage and tranquillity of the royal family, it is said, made a deep impression on M. Barnave, who bestowed particular marks of kind attention on the dauphin. When the carriages stopped at the terrace, I made my way through the throng, and, coming up in time to the coach, held out my arms to receive the son of my master. The dauphin, accustomed to my attention in assisting the sports of his age, saw me, and his eyes filled with tears. In spite of my efforts to take him in my arms, an officer of the national guards snatched him away, and, carrying him into the palace, put him on the table in the council-chamber. I was in the apartment as soon as the officer.

In a few minutes, the king, queen, and princesses entered, greatly fatigued with so painful a journey. They retired to their inner apartments, where a guard of thirty-six chosen men from the

Paris militia was ordered to keep a constant watch around them.

Thus terminated an attempt, which, if it had succeeded, might have issued in very beneficial consequences; but which, failing, tended only to estrange the affections of the well-disposed among the people from the king, and beget jealousies calculated to hasten the fatal catastrophe then fast approaching.

Monsieur and Madame, who had set out the day before the rest of the royal family, succeeded in getting out of the kingdom, and arrived safely at Brussels.

CHAP. VI.

Measures of the Assembly on the King's Flight.—Completion and Ratification of the Constitution.—Dissolution of the old and Formation of a new Assembly.—The King refuses his Assent to two Decrees; one against the Clergy, and the other for the Formation of a Camp at Paris.—Outrages of the 20th of June, 1792.

THE day after the king's arrival at Paris, three commissioners, appointed by the national assembly, went at eight o'clock at night to demand of their majesties a declaration in writing of the motives and circumstances of their departure. The replies of the king and queen were guarded; no one was implicated by them.

A decree was immediately passed, suspending the exercise of the royal power by Louis XVI.; and a few days after the national assembly heard the report of the commissioners on the events of the 21st of June, and following days. The reporter argued the questions, whether the king might be put on his trial for his flight? and whether that flight was a crime? concluding that, though the king's departure might be a crime in the eyes of reason and natural justice, it was not so in the eye of

the law; and that, according to this principle, he could not be tried. This conclusion was, after a debate of several days, adopted; and the national assembly contented itself with ordering the impeachment of general Bouillé, the officers and other agents, who had taken part in the transaction.

During the temporary suspension of the king's authority, which was also rendered painful to the royal family by personal restraints almost amounting to captivity, disorders were fomented by the Jacobin club among the people, who practised insults and excesses, for which they were well known to be hired by large distributions of money from the mischievous and designing. They were instigated by continued harangues to get rid of the Bourbons, to annihilate the assembly, and to cut off heads. By the timely interposition of the municipality, order was restored.

The national assembly having concluded their labours in the completion of the new constitutional act, M. de la Fayette went to the palace on the 3d September, and, being ushered into the council-chamber, said to his majesty, "Sire, the presentation of the constitutional act being so near, authorizes me to take off the guards that have been placed about your person." "They were placed by the assembly," replied the king; "It is the assembly's part to take them off." This un-

expected reply disconcerted M. de la Fayette, who withdrew without saying a word. On the same day the guard was taken off.

Next day, September 4th, a deputation, with great solemnity, carried the constitutional act to the king, who, after retaining it some days for the purpose of examining its contents, wrote to the assembly announcing his acceptance of it, which he soon after confirmed by oath in the assembly. This event restored, in some degree, the popularity of the king and his family, who were received with reiterated plaudits, and saluted by martial music and the firing of cannon. The day was concluded by a feast of the commune, which the king, queen, and royal family, honoured with their presence.

In the month of October, 1791, the constituent assembly was succeeded by a new one, called the Legislative Assembly. Its decisions were early directed against the regal dignity; but these being in some degree softened, the king opened the session by a speech fraught with the most benevolent and patriotic sentiments on the 7th of October. This new body was divided into two great parties,—the Feuillans and the Jacobins,—both of which took their names from the houses at which they held their meetings. The Feuillans differed in opinion among themselves; some were advocates for the ancient constitution of the kingdom, others for the new;—all, however, were for keep-

ing the crown on the head of Louis XVI. Among the Jacobins, one faction wished only to change the dynasty in favour of the duke of Orleans, while another was bent upon converting, at any rate, France into a republic.

In vain had the constituent assembly decreed that the revolution was finished. That, in the opinion of the Jacobins, could only be by the accomplishment of their projects. Popular favour, which is always bestowed on the friends of anarchy, daily strengthened the republican party. The numerous class of the people, who imagine that they have no interest in the maintenance of order, because, as they say, they have nothing to fear from the subversion of the laws, were delighted with the members of this party for their perpetual denunciations of the ministers, generals, and magistrates; and even for their declamations against those deputies who were of a different opinion.

The republicans were constantly saying that Louis XVI. could not be sincere in accepting the constitution; that he detested it; that it could never be truly his intention to maintain it; that he embraced it only to stifle it the more certainly; —remarks which made the greater impression on the people, as the greatest doubts of the king's real intentions had been excited by the journey to Varennes.

With these intestine divisions, external affairs

were combined. A treaty was entered into at Pilnitz between the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Saxony, to which all the powers of Europe were invited, for the purpose of restoring Louis XVI. and his family to full liberty.

The royal standard was displayed at Coblentz and Worms. Thither Monsieur, the count d'Artois, and an immense number of emigrants of all classes, repaired. The reigning parties resolving on the most determined resistance, armies were assembled on the frontiers, and every preparation made for vigorously commencing the contest between the royalists and republicans.

The winter of 1791 passed in continual struggles between the king and the assembly, whose power, through the predominance of the Jacobin party, was continually interposed, with the view of thwarting the plans or changing the officers of the ministry.

Governed by faction, not reason and the nature of things, the acts of the assembly wore more the air of pettishness and childish instability than of grave and permanent decision; and they were remarkable chiefly for a spirit, which, indeed, pervaded them all (sometimes more and sometimes less guarded) of animosity to the royal power and person. The constitution allowed to the king a guard of twelve hundred men: this guard the king, out of delicacy, had not chosen to form, and malice construed the neglect a crime. He

formed the guard; and scarcely was it established when the assembly disbanded it. No sooner did the king appoint a minister than he was tormented and denounced, and lost, in justifying himself, the time which should have been occupied in the public service. In a word, the Jacobin party, having gained the complete ascendancy, resolved, at all hazards, to carry on their own measures, and to wade, if needful, through seas of blood, for the accomplishment of their darling object, the destruction of the monarch and the monarchy. In all countries, during tumultuous times, the mob is a most important ally for the designing. This was not forgotten in Paris: there money was always found to purchase those whom the contagion of vociferous harangue failed to actuate; and the factious deputies of the assembly, knowing that they could extort, by menace from without, that which clamour could not obtain within the walls of their constituted body, grew daily more and more bold in their measures and declarations.

On the 29th May, 1792, a decree was carried in the assembly, pronouncing all those of the clergy who refused the civic oath *refractory*. By a former decree, such a refusal subjected them only to the loss of their clerical appointments. The declaration of the rights of man and the constitution established unlimited toleration. But the assembly now, in violation of both, decreed,

that all the nonjuring clergy should be banished the kingdom. Against this decree the directory of Paris presented a petition, in which they implored the king to withhold from it his sanction. Actuated not less by inclination than by reason and justice, the king, exercising the right of the veto, refused his assent to that measure, as well as to another, which proposed the forming a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris.

This refusal, although perfectly in accordance with the law ordained in the constitutional act, was seized upon by the factious as a fit subject by which to render the king odious. The populace were accordingly instigated to acts of insult; the name of *veto* was given in derision to the king and queen; and on the very gates of the palace was written, "No king! No civil list! A king is an obstacle to the happiness of the people. Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté! Down with traitors!" And over the principal gate was fixed a tri-coloured flag, with a red cap surmounting it.

The Jacobin party was now actively engaged in the hope of bringing about revolt; and Petion, a man of ungovernable temper, who had succeeded Bailly in the mayoralty of Paris, stood foremost. The 20th of June, being the anniversary of the oath taken by the tiers-état in the tennis-court at Versailles, was thought a favourable moment for exciting a popular tumult.

On the morning of that day the king was informed that armed mobs were forming without opposition in the faubourgs, and threatened the palace. Anxious not to expose the remainder of his faithful servants, he ordered that the national guard alone should defend him.

The inhabitants of the faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine, to the number of fifteen thousand, armed with guns and pikes, soon after marched through the hall of the legislative assembly, and thence towards the palace. The object they professed to have in view was, to demand the king's sanction to the decree he had rejected by his *veto*. The palace was soon assailed in every part. Two municipal officers harangued the national guards stationed at the gate of the royal court, and persuaded them to open it to the rioters. The gendarmerie posted in the court of the palace threw the priming out of the pans of their guns and joined the mob. Men and women, soldiers and brigands, with rage in their eyes and weapons in their hands, rushed on to the great staircase of the palace, the steps of which were passed in an instant, and a cannon, dragged up by main force, was planted against the king's apartment. The first door was broke open with a hatchet. The king appeared. M. de Marchais and myself*, both on duty, had bolted the door of the

* M. Hue.

bed-chamber. "Open it," said his majesty with firmness: "what have I to fear fromFrenchmen?" He then went in to the mob, and asked them what they wanted. His countenance, the serenity of his looks, and a remainder of respect for majesty, disconcerted the furies; and, for a moment, they seemed ready to lay down their arms, and to fall at the feet of their king.

Madame Elizabeth, displaying on this perilous occasion a courage equal to her virtue, determined to share the danger and the fate of her august brother: "Respect your king!" cried she, to the mad concourse; "Respect your king!" She held him by the coat, and followed him with a firm resolution of not quitting him. But the crowd separated them, and pushed them into two different window recesses in a room called the chamber of the nobles, where this horrible scene was acted. Some persons, taking madame Elizabeth for the queen, pointed their murderous weapons at the princess. "Stop," cried some, "that is madame Elizabeth." "Why undeceive them?" said she; "this mistake may save the queen."

During this tumult the king, with a tranquil eye, observed the motions of the seditious. "Sire," said a grenadier, "fear nothing." The king took him by the hand, and, putting it to his heart, said, "Grenadier, put your hand here; is this the beating of fear?" Several loyal subjects, re-

solving to be a rampart to his majesty, stood before him with their swords drawn. "Put your swords into their scabbards," said the king mildly; "this crowd are more deceived than guilty."

While the mob surrounded the king, the queen, in an adjoining room, was tenderly pressing her children to her bosom, and bathing them with her tears. M. d'Aubier had gone to her by order of madame Elizabeth, and had been expressly desired to detain her in that room. Her majesty at first refused to stay there. "It is my duty," said she, "to die near the king. To prevent my joining him is to cast a stain upon my name." "But," replied M. d'Aubier, "if the king sees the queen appear amidst people armed with pikes, he will endeavour to fly to her support, and will perish." At these words the queen shuddered.

Those who were with the queen took the opportunity to say to her, that, though she was a wife, she was also a mother; that, under such circumstances, to go to the king was to expose herself uselessly, without a reasonable hope of being of any service, and even with a certainty of increasing the danger of the king's situation; that, bound to take care of her children, she could not leave them an instant in the state of terror in which they were. The queen was yielding to these representations, when, hearing the uproar suddenly increase, she sprang to-

wards the door, crying to me, "Save my son!" On this I took the dauphin into my arms, and carried him to Madame Royale's room, which was at a distance, to prevent his hearing the noise. Crying and sobbing, he asked what the king and queen were doing. It was difficult to appear easy at their situation; but, fortunately, the princess de Tarente came in, and told us that the queen was gone to her son's apartment, whither I immediately carried the dauphin. Scarcely had the marquise de Tourzel put him into the queen's arms, scarcely had he received her caresses, when repeated blows were heard at the door of an adjoining room. At the noise I ran to a passage, which, from the room where the queen was, communicated to the king's bed-chamber, and opened it. The queen and her company fled through it. The door to this passage was so curiously contrived in the wainscot, that it had not the slightest appearance of what it was. The seditious hordes made their way to the very spot. The pannel next to the door was in a moment cleft to pieces with hatchets, and the wall behind left naked; but the door was not discovered. Had it not been for this blunder, the queen's last asylum had been violated.

All communication between the king and queen was now stopped, and they were some time without being able to learn any thing of each other's situation. Exposed to the insults of the

populace, the king was reduced to the cruel extremity of allowing the infamous red woollen cap, the jacobin's rallying badge, to be put upon his head.

Some hours were thus passed in agony before Petion, who was going and coming through the courts of the palace, went up to the apartment. He at length appeared; but it was to make a merit with the people, in the king's presence, of the dignity with which he came to present his petition. The national assembly was soon informed of what was passing at the palace. Pretending to be alarmed at the king's situation, they appointed a deputation to go and protect him. The conduct of the assembly was precisely the same as that of M. de la Fayette on the morning of the 6th of October.

At length one of the king's valets-de-chambre prevailed upon a detachment of the national guard to leave the garden, and go up to the apartment, where they took possession of the council-chamber, and checked the rioters. The people called for the queen. Her majesty appeared, leading her children by the hand, and attended by those friends who, during this crisis, had not quitted her. The table of the council-chamber served her for a barrier against the multitude. The mob threw a red cap upon the table, desiring that it might be put on the queen's head, and then on the dauphin's. M. de Whittinghoff took it up

with a trembling hand, and placed it for a moment on the queen's head. To satisfy the multitude, it was necessary that this disgusting badge should also be put upon the dauphin. The queen making me a sign to comply, I obeyed. The people now filed off quietly, some bearing small flags, having the inscriptions "Sanction or death!" "Tremble, tyrant, thy hour is come!" One carried a bloody heart on a pike, with these words—"The heart of tyrants and aristocrats!" Another a small gallows, with a female hanging, and these words, "'Ware the lantern!" In a word, the instigators of this riot united all that they imagined was most calculated to strike the king and royal family with terror. During the whole time of this painful scene, the queen remained standing behind the council-table, and treated the people with affability. Such was the command which this princess had over herself, that neither the hideous sights presented to her, nor the anxiety arising from the king's situation, altered her serenity. At length madame Elizabeth came running up to her: "All is well!" cried she; "all is well! The king is safe! The national guards are around him, and answer for his person!"

The evening was coming on, and it was full time to put an end to this state of protracted agony. It had now lasted five hours. The king, oppressed with heat and fatigue, was conducted by the deputation of the assembly and the na-

tional guard to the council-chamber; thence he went into his bed-room, where the family joined him. There, being able to yield without fear to the emotions of his heart, he pressed the queen, his children, and madame Elizabeth, to his bosom. Thus the storm subsided, but only that it might rage afresh; and, when it again arose, it brought with it final and fatal consequences. "Oh, human greatness! who henceforth can rely upon thee? Who can love thee so much as to seek for nothing besides, and refuse at any time to ally to other interests, to other hopes, a transitory existence, an unsubstantial life* ?"

* Necker.

CHAP. VII.

Provisional Measures of the King.—Anniversary of the Federation.—Proceedings of the Factions.—Outrages of the 10th of August.—Capture of the Royal Family.

THE new outrages against the king and royal family excited great indignation. The king denounced them to France in a proclamation; several departments sent addresses to his majesty, expressing the sorrow felt by his faithful subjects for the events of the 20th of June; and the department of Paris ordered prosecutions to be instituted against the authors, instigators, and abettors, of the riots.

By the measures of this department, (which afterwards cost the head of it, the duke de la Rochefoucald, his life,) the mayor (Petion) and the solicitor of the commune were suspended. But rebellion had now assumed too formidable an air to be subdued by the decrees of justice, and in a few days "Petion or death!" the cry of the multitude, obtained his reinstation.

The king, too well convinced that the manœuvres of his enemies were no longer to be frustrated by foresight, or their attacks repelled

by resistance, thought that, in case of extremity, to take refuge in the midst of the assembly was the only part left him. His majesty communicated this resolution to some members of a deputation of the assembly. "If it should happen," said he to them, "that the place of your sitting should be violated, as mine has been, you shall see me among you. In such critical junctures, powers intended to be a support to each other ought to unite."

The jacobin party having now completely imbued the minds of the people with those fallacious doctrines of liberty, which, being seldom well understood, are believed by the many to point the high road to glory and happiness, had only now to seek for opportunity to try the strength of the power they had acquired, and this the anniversary of the federation gave them.

On the 14th of July from all the departments came deputations of federates, composed in great part of people devoted to the jacobin faction. Among these the federates of Marseilles and those of Finisterre were distinguished by their dress and their audacity. Those two departments seemed to unite all that was most turbulent and wild in France.

The Marseillois federates, guilty of every atrocity, preceded by terror, and dragging with them several pieces of cannon, were very numerous. With the ferocious Barbaroux and the Pole La-

jousky at their head they arrived at Paris, where they were immediately joined by the banditti who had taken refuge in the capital.

It was a contest who should lavish most attention on these federates. The municipality lodged them gratuitously. The national assembly declared that during their stay their expenses should be defrayed from the public treasury, and ordered cartouches, powder, and ammunition for the cannon, to be delivered to them; and Petion, to whom they first paid their respects, returned their attention with the most friendly welcome, secretly congratulating himself on finding in these assassins the executioners of the cruelties he meditated.

The most intimate connexion was soon formed between the Marseillois and the section of the Cordeliers. In honour of their fierce friends, this section, of all others the most seditious, took the name of the section of Marseillois. Camille Demoulins, Hebert, Momoro, Fabre D'Eglantine, Danton, Marat, and other men of the same stamp who lived in that section, directed all the movements of it as they pleased.

To name Marat is to personify guilt. This man before the revolution made a livelihood by quackery. His dwarfish figure and livid disgusting countenance discovered under the most hideous exterior a soul still more hideous. After a course of the most horrible atrocity he received his death at the hands of a woman, Charlotte Corday, who

left Caen, her native place, for the purpose of ridding the earth of such a monster, and, entering his chamber, stabbed him.

Danton, like Marat, was ambitious to play a principal part. His pretensions were supported by a fierce countenance and a loud voice,—means ever powerful with that numerous class, who, having only ears, require only sound. "Do you want to know," said he, "what makes a revolution? In the first place boldness, in the second boldness, in the third boldness." But, untrue to this principle, Danton, an audacious and even impudent declaimer in the tribune, shewed himself weak in danger. Robespierre crushed him without resistance, and sent him to the scaffold.

The ceremony of the federation, at which the king was present for the last time, afforded but too certain presages of the melancholy event preparing; for scarcely a shout in favour of the monarch was heard, while the cries of "Down with the king!" "Down with *veto*!" "Petion for ever!" resounded on all sides. All eyes were fixed on Petion. To him was addressed every wish, every homage. But little did he foresee that, in a few months, that very people who proclaimed him their father would call for his head in the language of fury; and that, to escape the scaffold, he should himself put an end to his life.

The partisans of the republican system were now preparing for the total annihilation of royalty,

and therefore increased their disrespect for the king. They differed indeed on the mode of government which they would in their wisdom give to France, but they all agreed on the annihilation of the legal system, and the seizure of offices and property. But in order to this it was necessary to depose the king, and he was therefore the chief object aimed at.

Mobs, affrays, and riots, became now more and more frequent presages of the frightful storm that was rising. Bands of people were constantly collecting under the windows of the palace, where the people were told non-juring priests were concealed, together with a large quantity of arms and warlike stores; and although the king issued proclamations, calling on the people to preserve tranquillity and order, and demanded of the municipality that a search should be made through the palace in order to disprove such aspersions, yet the factions, finding means to evade so certain a denial of their slander, continued to impose their fabrications on the multitude, in order to render the Thuileries and its inhabitants the focus of disgust and horror.

In this critical juncture, which the natural course of things shewed to be the approach of a great crisis, the king was called upon to act a part the most difficult and trying. On the frontiers were his most faithful subjects, servants, near relatives, and devoted allies, who, grieved by the

growing usurpations of insatiate and destructive factions, and alarmed for the personal safety of the royal house, were assembled in arms on their behalf. To have avowed his approval of and connexion with them would have been instantly denominated a breach of the constitution, and treason against the nation. To discountenance their generous designs would have been to deny the first feelings of nature; and therefore, on the occasion of the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, calling on the French to return to the paths of reason and justice, the king's language was ambiguous. The enemies of the monarchy did not now fail to profit by the dilemma to which the king had been reduced; and petitions having been procured from various quarters, requiring that he should be deposed, the debate on that subject was fixed for the 9th of August, and it took place at the very time when an infuriate mob drove him to seek shelter among his most determined enemies.

Those who are unaccustomed to watch the progress of events which are said to emanate from the will of the people are perhaps but slightly aware of the little influence which that will, so often and so loudly talked of, really has in times of tumult. A motley mass of persons drawn together idly or fortuitously, and for the moment at least vacant of occupation, is just the weapon which a turbulent and designing vociferator will mould

to his purpose, wield at pleasure, and laugh at when justice overtakes. With such weapons and such leaders Paris was at this time abundantly supplied. The jacobins, whose sanguinary minds could find no pleasure but in blood, having sworn the destruction of the king and his family, were daily intent on exciting new outrages. Their plans were now laid for an effectual insurrection on the 29th of July, with the view of assassinating the royal family. Three hundred men were to assemble at the mayor's hotel, under pretence of protecting him from a supposed plot, but in reality to prevent his going to his office at the hour appointed for the insurrection; whilst the insurgents were to march in great force to the Carousel, with the cannon and all the gunners who could be assembled. But the plot was discovered, and, being frustrated, was postponed to the 9th or 10th of August*.

Under these distressing circumstances the friends of the king again urged his escape, and two plans were laid for removing the royal family; one to the castle of Guillon in Normandy, the other to Compeigne; but the execution of them was delayed, and they remained finally unattempted.

The day which was to prove so fatal to the royal house now approached, and, in order to prepare for the scenes which were then acted, almost

* Bertrand's Priv. Memoirs, iii. 8.

every kind of violation and outrage was suffered to take place in the streets of Paris; and secret meetin s were held at the Blue Dial, a public house at Charenton, and at a smoking-house in the faubourg St. Antoine, for the purpose of arranging the mode of attacking the palace, and establishing revolt; for both Chabot and Carra afterwards openly boasted of having voted at that meeting for the insurrection.

The time being now come for debating the question of the king's deposition, the republican faction resorted to every art in order to create a majority for passing a decree; whilst their associates without resolved, that if, on the 9th, the legislative body had not, before twelve o'clock at night, decreed the king's deposition, the drums should beat to arms,—the alarm-bell be rung,—and that they should march under arms to the assembly and the palace.

At this time the national guard of Paris was under the command of M. Mandat, who flattered himself, that, in case of attack, he should be able to defend the palace. He had obtained authority from the mayor to double, in advance, the guards at all the posts, both within and without. On the warrant from the mayor, M. Mandat made his arrangement of defence. By eleven at night he drew up in order of battle, in the square of the Louvre, six squadrons of gendarmerie. Several battalions of national guards were distributed in

the courts of the palace, and in the garden; and to these were added part of the regiments of Swiss guards, a corps whose bravery and loyalty were equal to any proof. The disorderly began their movements by assassinating M. Mandat for the measures he had taken to defend the palace; and a rabble took possession, by force, of the places occupied by the municipal officers.

The legislative body, though informed of what was passing, took no measures of prevention. At the palace all seemed prepared for defence. After the king's supper, the royal family, with the princess de Lamballe, withdrew to the council-chamber, where the ministers and some persons of the court assembled to pass the night. The queen, thinking more of the king and her children than of her own danger, was continually going and coming; sometimes she was with the king, and sometimes with the dauphin, or Madame Royale.

Every hour, every moment, brought disastrous tidings. In the council-chamber the ministers and principal officers of the court were concerting the means of saving the lives of the royal family.

The fatal hour prescribed by the rebellious sections passed without a decree for the deposing of the king. At twelve o'clock at night the alarm-bell at the Cordeliers was heard. In a few moments it rang in every part of Paris. The drums

every where beat to arms, and the report of the cannon mixed at intervals with the noise of the drums. The rebels assembled in the sections. The troops of brigands gathered from all sides. Assassins, armed with daggers, were waiting to make their way into the room where the royal family were. The rebel columns moved, and began to march without meeting any obstacle. A municipal officer had, on his own authority, destroyed most of the preparations for defence. The troops and cannon being removed from the Pont Neuf, the way was left open to the rebels to march to the palace.

At six o'clock the king appeared in the balcony of one of the first halls, and cast a look on the courts. He was invited by a general acclamation to go down. Some intrepid and faithful servants accompanied the king. As soon as his majesty appeared, the drums beat, and the shouts of Vive le Roi! were heard, which were carried on under the arches of the palace, through the passages, courts, and garden. Some hope yet remained; but when, having, crossed a principal part of the court, the king came towards the great gate of the Carousel, the rebels perceived him, and cried with fury, "Vive Petion! Down with the King! Vive la Nation!" The king passed into the garden, where similar cries and threats were heard. His majesty, struck with the words of

Vive la Nation! exclaimed in a dignified manner, "I say so too: Vive la Nation! Their happiness has ever been the first wish of my heart."

The troops intended for the defence of the palace were under arms. The king reviewed them, and went in among the ranks: his air disclosed the vexation of his mind, but the habitual mild look of his countenance was not altered.

On all sides, at the Carousel, at the place Louis XV., at the quay of the Thuileries, the threatening cries redoubled, and the tumult increased. The assailants came on in several columns, bringing with them cannon and ammunition. The square of the Carousel was crowded with people: the general cry was, Depose him! Depose him! The cannon were pointed on the outer gates of the palace.

The rioters continued to increase in number. Between seven and eight o'clock the procureur-general, with his scarf on, appeared at the head of the directory of the department. One of the members of the deputation said to me*, with tears in his eyes, "All is lost." The king had retired to his bedchamber with his family. Rœderer desiring to speak to the king, I introduced him. "The danger," said he to his majesty, "is beyond all expression. Defence is impossible. There is but a very small number in the national guard that can be depended upon; the rest, intimidated or corrupted, will, at the very onset,

* M. Hue.

join the assailants. Take refuge, sire, take refuge without delay, in the bosom of the assembly. Your majesty's life, and the lives of the royal family, cannot be safe but amidst the representatives of the people. Leave this palace; there is not a moment to be lost."

The king delayed his decision, and the queen shewed the greatest repugnance to going to the assembly. "What, sir," said her majesty to Rœderer, "are we totally deserted?" "Madam," replied he, "I repeat it; resistance is impossible. Will you be the cause of the murder of the king, of your children, of yourself; in a word, of the faithful servants around you?" "God forbid!" cried the queen: "would, on the contrary, that I could be the only victim!"

Urged by such considerations, and overcoming their extreme repugnance, the royal family quitted the palace; quitted it for ever! And to what a place did they fly for safety! His majesty ordered that the gates of the palace should be opened, and all thoughts of hostility relinquished. The royal family, in crossing the terrace of the Feuillans, were insulted by the populace, who cried with fury,—"Down with the tyrant! Death! death!" They however, at length got to the hall of the assembly. The king went upon the president's raised floor, and, standing at his side, said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime; and I think I cannot be safer than among you, gentlemen." "Sire," replied the president, (Guadet,)

"you may depend upon the firmness of the national assembly; its members have sworn to die in support of the rights of the people, and of the constituent authorities."

The queen, the dauphin, Madame Royale, and madame Elizabeth, took seats on the bench of the ministers. In a few minutes the king and his family were conducted to a box, which had been appropriated to the editor of a paper called "The Logographe." The princess de Lamballe and the marquise de Tourzel went in with them, and they were afterwards joined by several of those who had not been able to follow them. Some noblemen, dressed as national guards, stood sentries at the door of the box.

Most of the persons belonging to the court and in waiting remained in the palace; and all at this crisis gave proofs of a courage proportionate to the greatness of the danger.

At nine o'clock a musket, fired from the court upon the palace, shivered some of the stone. Whether from a natural consequence of the provocation given on the outside, or from a premeditated plan of the rebels, who might have placed persons in the very palace to return the aggression, several guns were fired from the interior. Upon this a discharge of cannon immediately took place from the square of the Carousel; but they were pointed so unskilfully or so precipitately, that, notwithstanding the shortness of the distance,

they only grazed the top of the roofs. Thus began a combat, the consequences of which were so fatal.

At the noise made by the discharge, indignation was seen in the king's countenance. "I forbade firing," cried he. The prohibition, written by the king's hand, had been given to a Swiss officer, the Baron de Durler: a second order was now despatched. The king enjoined the Swiss to leave the palace, and their commanders to come to him. The queen commissioned a nobleman to collect some well-disposed national guards, and to hasten to the palace with them, in order to bring away the ladies and other persons who had been left there; but not a single national guard stood forward to share the honour of this dangerous commission.

At the first shots fired from the castle the assailants fled terrified. They rushed through the royal gate into the square of the Carousel: the cannoniers deserted their pieces. The courts were soon evacuated, and on the pavement lay guns, pikes, grenadiers' caps, and all sorts of weapons. But the fugitives, perceiving that there was but a small armed force opposed to them, that there was a disagreement among the national guards, and that no pursuit was made, took courage, and returned to the charge. The cannon thundered with repeated discharges,—the palace took fire,—the report of musketry and the shock

of arms were every where heard. At length the populace in fury fell bodily to work on the entrances of the palace; and, forcing their way in, dealt carnage through it. The passages, the apartments, the smallest nooks, were deluged with blood, and heaped with dead bodies. The cruelty of the assassins practised every kind of torture on their victims.

The populace, ever atrocious when triumphant, spared scarcely any of the inhabitants of the palace, or of the people employed in it. They murdered every where. Some of the Swiss soldiers were dragged to the place de Grève, and there massacred; many were butchered whilst on their knees begging for quarter. They cut the throats of the Swiss porters in their lodges. The pen refuses to describe the infamous outrages committed by the men, and even by the women, on the dead bodies. The whole number slaughtered on both sides, in the course of this dreadful day, may be estimated at between four and five thousand.

In the assembly the discussions were carried on notwithstanding, and at length the result of them was posted up. These papers ran thus:— "The king is suspended, and his family are detained as hostages. The present ministry have lost the confidence of the nation, and the assembly are going to appoint another in their stead. The civil list is suppressed." Thus was the treachery

and horror of this day sanctioned by the assembly themselves! France had no longer a king! A narrow prison was to be substituted for the throne of the monarch, which he was never to quit but in order to be led to the scaffold!

At the moment when the rioters carried fury and carnage into the palace, several of the gates continued locked, which served to increase the horror and confusion. Every one was running, pushing, and struggling to escape death. Not knowing myself* that I should avoid it, I jumped with many others through one of the palace windows into the garden, which I crossed through a fire of musketry that killed a great number of the Swiss. Pursued beyond the garden, I had no resource but to throw myself into the Seine. I was almost exhausted when I fortunately reached a boat, into which I was taken, and saved by the boatman. Early next day I learnt that the royal family had passed the night at the convent of the Feuillans. Hastening thither, I crossed the court and garden of the Thuileries. Turning my eyes from the dead bodies which were still lying about, and overcoming all obstacles, I at length got to the king's chamber, I found him in bed, with a coarse cloth about his head. He looked at me piteously, called me to him, and, pressing my hand, desired me with great eagerness to give him an account of what happened at the palace

* M. Hue.

after he left it. Oppressed with grief and tears, I could scarcely speak. From me the king learned the death of several persons for whom he had an affection.

The royal family were disposed of in a place which had been the dormitory of the Feuillans monks. The lodging given to them was that of the artichect who built the hall of the sittings; it consisted of four cabins, communicating one with the other. The first was used as an anti-chamber; the king slept in the second; the third was occupied by the queen and Madame Royale, and the fourth by the dauphin and madame de Tourzel. Madame Elizabeth and the princess de Lamballe had a single chamber in the same gallery, separate from those four rooms.

A strong guard was stationed at all the outlets of the gallery. No person, not even those in waiting, could pass without being stopped or questioned. The inspector of the hall distributed passes.

The first night the king spent in this house, the marquis de Tourzel and M. d'Aubier watched at the foot of his bed. Before he went to sleep, he spoke with great calmness of all that had happened. "It is regretted," said he, "that I did not order the rebels to be attacked before they forced the arsenal: but, besides that the national guards would have made a plea of the constitution to refuse being the assailants, what end would the

attack have answered? The measures were too well planned for my party to have been victorious, even if I had remained in the palace. Is it forgotten, that, when the rebellious commune caused M. Mandat to be murdered, they frustrated all the dispositions of defence he had made?" At this moment, some men, placed under the windows, called loudly for the head of the queen. "What has she done to them?" exclaimed the king, with indignation. Some hours after, wishing to know whether the *bourgeois* were meeting at their sections and in their battalions, and whether there was any hope yet left of their making a movement in his favour, his majesty ordered M. d'Aubier to go round Paris. On his return he informed the king, that, at the different sections, people armed with pikes had dispersed the *bourgeois*, and partly disarmed them; and that they were drawing up a resolution for abiding by the measures which the national assembly had taken.

As the palace had been pillaged, and seals affixed to whatever was left, the royal family were in want of linen, apparel, conveniences; in short, of every thing. In this state of total deprivation, one of the officers of the *Cent-Suisses*, who was nearly of the king's size, sent some articles for his majesty's use. The queen received some body-linen, and other clothes, from the duchess de Grammont. The lady of the English ambassador

in France*, having a son of the same age as the dauphin, sent some clothes for his use.

The three days that the king inhabited the house of the Feuillans, the factious, every morning, between ten and eleven o'clock, carried him, with the royal family, to their assembly, and shut him up in the box of the Logographe, an enclosure of ten feet square and eight high, exposed to the heat of a burning sun. An iron railing, which separated the box from the rest of the hall, was taken away, in order, it was said, that the king, in case of any attack by the people, might take refuge in the assembly itself. Such was the indecent cell to which the royal family was every day committed, and where they were condemned to the torture of hearing the shocking vociferations aimed at them.

Thus situated, in the very spot of the sittings, the king had the pain of hearing, sometimes from the tribune, sometimes from the bar of the assembly, his purest intentions aspersed, and the epithet *tyrant* substituted for his title, as well as for that of all crowned heads.

At night, the king and the royal family were taken back to their lodging under a strong guard. They always met with new insults.

The decree suspending the king, and declaring that his ministers had forfeited the public confi-

* The countess of Sutherland.

dence, was no sooner passed, than a new administration was formed by the assembly; in which, Danton was placed at the head of the judicial department; Le Brun, Servan, Monge, Roland, and Clavières, at the head of those for foreign affairs, war, the marine, the interior, and public contributions.

The persons of the court, who, on the 10th of August, had gone to their majesties at the Feuillans, received, the very next day, an order from the national assembly to remove. "It is to be feared, alleged the assembly, "that their continuing with the king may serve as a pretext for new disorders." The inspector of the hall was charged to signify this order, and see it executed.

The king, on hearing this news, said, mournfully, "Charles I. was not so unfortunate as we are!" Then, taking M. d'Aubier aside, "Manage," said he, "to communicate, yourself, what has passed, to the king of Prussia, and my brothers. In going to them, however, let it be as a voluntary emigrant: the slightest suspicion of your being sent by me would accelerate our ruin."

Previous to taking their last leave of the king, the duke de Choiseuil, and other noblemen, understanding that the king and royal family were without money, offered them all the gold and assignats which they had about them. The queen, who, the day before, had been obliged to borrow

some money to give in charity, now accepted a small sum.

The prince of Poix proposed to the king to fix his residence at the hôtel de Noailles; but his majesty had no longer the power of choice. A committee was appointed to consider the subject, for the decision of the legislative body. They were wavering between the palace of the Luxembourg and the hôtel de la Chancellerie, when the new commune of Paris, under whose charge the royal family were to be placed, proposed the Temple, and their proposal was adopted. This was not the only instance in which, under the simple appearance of giving an opinion, this municipality dictated the law to the national assembly.

When the king was informed of this decision, he ordered me to write, as he dictated, a list of the persons whom he wished to keep in his service, and in that of the royal family. To mention the persons chosen by his majesty is to do honour to their names.

The list which I delivered to the mayor of Paris, that he might consult with the council of the commune upon it, was as follows:—

For the service of the king's person:—M. de Fresnes, equerry; M. Lorimer de Chamilly, head valet-de-chambre; M. Bligni, valet-de-chambre; and M. Testard, attendant of the chamber.

For the service of the queen and Madame Royale : —madame Thibaud, first chamber-woman; madame Ognier and madame Bazire, chamber-women.

For the service of the dauphin:—madame St. Brice, and M. Hue.

For the service of madame Elizabeth :—M. de St. Pardoux, equerry; and madame Navarre, first chamber-woman.

To this list the queen added the princess de Lamballe and mademoiselle de Tourzel.

CHAP. VIII.

Royal Family removed to the Temple—are placed finally in the Tower.—M. Hue is arrested—restored—again arrested, imprisoned, and at length liberated.—Massacres of September.

ON the 14th of August, the day fixed for the removal of the king to the Temple, he received, a few hours before he set out, the manifesto of the princes, his brothers, and letters which they had written to him. When read, it was of the utmost importance that they should be suppressed, and that the Arguses around the royal family should know nothing of them. This commission the king gave to me, and I executed it.

In the afternoon, the mayor, accompanied by a municipal officer, came to the king, to inform him that the council of the commune had decided that none of the persons in the service of the royal family should go with them to the Temple. By strong representations, the king obtained an exception of the ladies Thibaud, St. Brice, and Navarre, M. de Chamilly, and myself.

The hour for removing came, and the royal family, with the persons attending them, set out. It was with difficulty that they made their way

through the crowd that filled the inner passage and court of the Feuillans; however, they at length got to the carriages waiting to remove them to the Temple. These were two large coaches, with one pair of horses to each. The king, the queen, their children, madame Elizabeth, the princess de Lamballe, madame and mademoiselle de Tourzel, went into the first. The mayor, the procureur de la Commune, and a municipal officer, went in likewise. They affected to keep their hats on all the way. The second carried the king's suite and two municipal officers. The coaches were escorted by the national guards on foot, with their muskets clubbed. These were joined by an immense multitude, variously armed. Nothing was heard but threats and imprecations. In the middle of the place Vendôme, the carriage in which the royal family rode was stopped for some time: this was, that they might have leisure to contemplate the equestrian statue of Louis the Great, thrown from its pedestal, broken by the populace, and trodden under foot, while that frantic populace cried incessantly, "Thus are tyrants treated!"

During this melancholy procession, which lasted more than an hour, the municipal officers commissioned to escort the royal family broke out into brutal fits of rapture, clapped their hands, shouted "Vive la Nation!" and incited the multitude to answer their shouts.

At length, oppressed with grief, the royal family arrived at the Temple. Santerre was the first who appeared in the court where they alighted. He made a sign to the municipal officers, which I could not at the time understand: when I afterwards became acquainted with the different parts of the Temple, I conceived the import of it to be, that the king should be conducted to the tower on his alighting, and that a significant motion of the head returned by the municipal officers shewed that it was not yet time.

The royal family were led to the part of the buildings called the palace, which was the usual residence of the count d'Artois when at Paris. The municipals remained with the king: they kept their hats on, and gave him no other title than Monsieur.

An immense number of sentinels were stationed within the Temple; and so strict were the orders, that one could not take a step without being stopped. Among this crowd of satellites, the king displayed a tranquillity which evinced a conscience undisturbed.

At ten o'clock supper was served. It lasted but a short time, during which Manuel stood at the king's side. After supper, the royal family returned to the saloon. From this moment Louis XVI. was given up to that factious commune, who surrounded him with keepers, or rather gaolors, whom they called commissioners. The attendants on

their majesties had been informed, on entering the Temple, that the royal family were not to sleep in the palace, which they were to inhabit only in the day, so that we were not surprised to hear one of the commissioners, about eleven o'clock at night, order us to take up the few articles of linen and clothes it had been possible to procure, and follow him.

A municipal, with a lantern in his hand, went before me. By the gloomy light it gave, I tried to discover the place which was intended for the royal family. We stopped before a set of buildings, which darkness magnified to my perception. I could see nothing distinctly, but still observed a difference between the form of this edifice and that of the palace which we had left. The roof appeared to me to have arrows upon it, which I supposed steeples, and to be finished with battlements, on which at distances lamps were burning. Notwithstanding the light these threw at intervals, I had no idea of the nature of this building, erected on an extraordinary plan, or at least perfectly novel to me.

At length, the municipal breaking the dead silence he had preserved the whole way, "Your master," said he to me, "was used to gilt ceilings: he shall now see how the assassins of the people are lodged. Follow me." I followed him up several steps. A narrow low door led me to a spiral staircase. When, from this principal stair-

case, I entered upon a smaller one, which conducted me to the second floor, I perceived that I was in a tower. I went into a room which had but one window, and scarcely any furniture, there being only a bad bed, and three or four chairs. "Here," said the municipal to me, "is the place where your master is to sleep." Chamilly had joined me: we looked at each other without uttering a syllable. A pair of sheets was thrown to us as a favour; and we were at length left alone for a few moments.

A dirty old bedstead, which had all the appearance of being infested with vermin, stood in a recess, without hangings or curtains. We did all we could to make the bed and the room as clean as possible. The king came in, but shewed neither surprise nor displeasure. Engravings, most of which were of an indecent nature, hung round the chamber: these his majesty took down with his own hand. "I cannot," said he, "suffer such things to be seen by my daughter." He then went to bed, and slept tranquilly. Chamilly and I sat up all night by his bedside. We respectfully contemplated the awful calmness of virtue struggling with misfortune, and subduing it. "How is it," said we, "that he, who exerts such a command over himself, should not be formed to command others?" The sentinels stationed at the chamber-door were relieved every hour, and the municipals on guard were changed every day.

The king, on the day he came to the temple, formed a plan of life, to which he ever after constantly adhered. When he was dressed, he went into a small tower adjoining his chamber, where he shut himself in, said his prayers, and read till breakfast time. He then joined his family, and did not leave them again till after supper, when he returned to his chamber, and, retiring to the little tower, resumed the occupations of the morning till eleven o'clock, at which hour he went to bed. His majesty's private closet, I had almost said the sanctuary of piety and virtue, had no other furniture than a few chairs and a stand to hold a light, on which, among other books, his majesty found the Imitation of Jesus Christ, which he read night and morning. Unable, in spite of my repeated requests, to obtain the use of a press which was in the room, I had no other place for his majesty's clothes and things than a card-table in a shattered state, and which had lost almost the whole of its green cloth.

A room opposite the king's chamber, and which had been used as a kitchen, where the utensils still remained, was for several days the place in which madame Elizabeth and mademoiselle de Tourzel slept, on two truckle-beds that had been put there for them. This kitchen was separated from the king's chamber by a very small room, into which the light was admitted only by a sash-window fixed in the roof: here my bed

stood. In a very few days the window was entirely blocked up, under pretence that by that opening I kept up intelligence with the sentinel on duty on the terrace. This sentinel, whose legs I could hardly see, was relieved ever hour.

It being night when I came to the tower, it was not till the next morning, when I went down from the second story, on which the king was lodged, that I could gain a knowledge of the plan of this building. I will here give a description of it in the order in which I went over it. The first story was the same as the second. In a kind of antichamber, situated under the room I occupied, lay the princess de Lamballe. To the left, the queen, with Madame Royale, had a chamber, the window of which looked into the garden. In this the royal family passed the day. The dauphin, madame de Tourzel, his governess, and madame St. Brice, slept in one chamber, to the right. The tower terminated below in a platform adjoining the staircase, and on which, at a certain distance, was the great gate. This gate, being thought too weak, was soon strengthened by an enormous lock, brought from the prison of the Châtelet. To the right of the platform were lodged two Cerberuses with human faces, to whom the municipality had intrusted the care and duty of the gate. Their names were Rocher and Risby. The horrible countenance of Rocher bespoke a soul no less horrible; Risby, with a less forbidding

aspect, was no less inveterate than his comrade in persecuting the royal family. The dining-room was near the wicket, and next to the chamber of the two gaolers. It communicated with a small tower, in which there was a library.

As the kitchen was distinct, and at a distance from the little tower, I was frequently obliged to pass by several of the posts that were guarded. I was perpetually stopped, questioned, and insulted. The municipals, who went every where with me, applauded these outrages, and sometimes set the example. If at any time my mind was roused to indignation, my thought immediately turned upon my master, and I said to myself. "The king suffers, and is silent." In the palace of the Temple, adjoining the tower, the municipal commissioners had a room for their meetings, which they called the council-chamber. The linen, and other things, which were taken in and out for the use of the royal family, were carried there first, and strictly examined. When they were to be taken in or out, one of the commissioners sent for me, conducted me to the council-chamber, and again followed me to the door of the tower. Whatever was intended for the meals of the royal family was previously submitted to the scrutiny of the commissioners, and, before entering the tower, was again searched by other municipals, who cut in two the loaves and such eatables as appeared to them suspicious. In

a word, nothing either came in or went out of the tower, without being subjected to the most rigorous search. These details, so painful to relate, were the barbarous amusement of the Arguses set over the royal family.

The day after his arrival in the Temple, the king went over every part of the great and little tower. The council of the commune strengthened these prisons with new works. It was ordered that the great tower should be completely insulated, and, for that purpose, that the buildings about it should be pulled down. At first, a large moat was dug round it; but it was, soon after, I know not for what reason, filled up again. The walls within were raised to double their height: several windows of the tower, looking into the interior part of the Temple, called *the Rotunda*, and towards the great gate, were almost entirely blocked up.

As the royal family had gone to the Temple destitute of every thing, it was necessary, at different times, for various articles, to have a communication beyond the walls: this was subjected to a thousand obstacles, and soon became suspected. The persons in the Temple, attending on the royal family, were accordingly denounced to the commune; who ordered that they should be sent from the tower.

On the same day, two municipal officers came up to the king's chamber, just as the royal family

were going to dinner, and gave notice that, in virtue of a resolution of the commune, all the persons attending them, who came to the tower with his majesty, were to leave the Temple under a strong guard. "Gentlemen," said the king, "it is by virtue of an order from the mayor that these persons came with me."—"That does not signify," replied one of them; "the order of the commune will prevail. They will choose other persons to serve you." The intention was, to surround the royal family with the wives and relations of municipal officers. "If the design of taking away the only servants left us here is persisted in," said the king, "I again declare that my family and I will wait on ourselves: therefore, let no one whatever be brought to us." The municipals withdrew, saying, that they were going to give an account of their mission to the council of the commune. This unexpected order was a clap of thunder to us; and the very idea of so cruel a separation plunged us into the deepest consternation.

About five o'clock Manuel came to the temple. Affected by the grief expressed to him by the queen and Madame Elizabeth, he promised that the execution of the order should be suspended, and left them to go and confer once more on this subject with the council of the commune.

On the same night there came to the tower two municipal officers, who, without any explanation,

took down in writing the names of the princess de Lamballe, madame de Tourzel, her daughter, and generally all the persons in the service of the royal family. The order before given by the commune, to take them from the Temple, was executed in the night of the 29th of August.

The king was in bed. Chamilly and I had just thrown ourselves upon the mattrass on which we both lay. About midnight two commissioners of the municipality came in. "Are you the valets-de-chambre?" demanded they. Upon our answering in the affirmative, they ordered us to rise, and follow them. Chamilly's hand and mine meeting, we pressed them warmly together. One of the municipality had said, that very day, in our hearing, "The guillotine is permanent, and is cutting off the pretended servants of Louis;" so that we believed ourselves approaching the last moments of our existence.

Going down to the queen's antichamber, a very narrow room, where the princess de Lamballe slept, we there found that princess and madame de Tourzel already prepared to set out. They were embracing the queen, her children, and madame Elizabeth, and receiving from them tender and most painful adieus.

The other persons in the king's service had received a like order to leave the Temple. Being all assembled in the same place, we waited our fate in dead silence. The door of the tower

opened: lighted by torches, we crossed the garden and, going to the gate of the palace of the Temple, we were put into public carriages. Some municipal officers went in with us, and we were escorted by a party of the gendarmes. Foreboding the worst, we went forward, not kowing whither we were to be carried.

The carriages stopped at the hôtel de Ville, which we entered. Our conductors, eager to give the people, ever gaping after sights, the pleasure of seeing us pass, and us the mortification of being exposed to their insults, made us pass through the hall of the sittings, to go to the secretary's room. Here, placed on benches, where some municipals, seated by us, separated us, and forbade all conversation, we waited above an hour. At length our examination commenced. We were each introduced separately into the place where the commune was sitting. Being the last called, I was in hopes of there seeing my companions in misfortune, and of being informed, at least by some signs, of what had passed with respect to them; but how was I surprised, on entering the hall (it was six o'clock in the morning), to see none of those who had been carried in before me!

While waiting till the president (by whom I was placed) was ready to examine me, I looked round, from the elevated spot on which I stood, at the assemblage in the place. It was composed of

the members of the commune, wearing the tri-coloured ribbon, low vulgar men, women, and even children. A part of this extraordinary assembly lay sleeping on the benches.

When at length my examination commenced, I was desired to declare my name and profession. Conceiving that I should address myself to him who put the questions to me, I turned towards him. "Citizen," said one of the substitutes of the procureur of the commune, Billaud de Varennes, "address yourself to the *sovereign people*." I then turned to this pretended sovereign, the major part of whom were fast asleep, and who paid no more attention to the answers than to the questions. Those who were not asleep began all questioning me at once, and I knew not whom to answer.

The first question was, what had passed at the Thuileries, in the night between the 9th and 10th of August? By the manner of putting the question, I easily perceived that the examiners knew much more of it than I did. What could the heads or agents of the riot learn respecting that disastrous night of a man who had been but a spectator, or a victim? I replied in a manner by which no one could be involved. I spoke of the conduct of the constituted authorities, several of whose members had then joined the ministers in the king's council-chamber; and I told how I escaped death.

The second question related to some furniture, which, they said, had been carried to the palace, a few days before the 10th of August, for the queen and madame Elizabeth. I replied, that I knew nothing of it: and indeed I know nothing of it to this day.

Lastly, I was interrogated on the departure of the king for Montmédi. "I knew nothing of his departure," replied I, "but as the public did; although, as officer of the chamber, I had, the night before, done my duty in the king's bedroom."

Being asked if, on the day of the king's departure for Montmédi, I had seen M. de la Fayette at the palace, I replied that I had not: and to the question of, "What persons attended the king when he went to bed?" I said: "Those whose duty it was,"

When my examination closed, I withdrew to the secretary's office; and the assembly immediately took into consideration, whether I should be sent back to the Temple or not. The question being decided in the affirmative, the president ordered me to be called in, informed me of the decision, and signing, before me, an order for replacing me in the tower, gave it to a municipal, whom he charged with the execution of it.

With what delight did I now enter the Temple! I flew to the king's room. Already risen and dressed, his majesty was engaged in his usual

reading in the little tower. The moment he saw me, his anxiety to know what had passed made him advance to meet me; but the presence of the municipal officers on guard about his person prevented all conversation. I shewed by my looks that I deemed it prudent to say nothing particular at that moment. The king, likewise feeling the necessity of silence, resumed his reading, and waited a more favourable opportunity. Some hours passed before I could tell him, and that with haste, what questions had been put to me, and my answers.

At my return to the Temple, I had carried with me the hope of soon seeing those who had been taken away with me brought back. Vain hope! About six o'clock in the afternoon Manuel came and informed the king, on the part of the commune, that the princess de Lamballe, madame and mademoiselle de Tourzel, Chamilly, and his other attendants, were not to return to the Temple. "What is become of them?" said the king.—"They are prisoners in the hôtel de la Force," replied Manuel.—"What," said his majesty, looking at me, "will be done with the last servant left me here?"—"The commune leaves him with you," answered Manuel: "but, as he will not be sufficient for your service, other people will be sent to assist him."—"I will have no others," replied the king: "What he cannot do" (speaking of me) "we will do ourselves. God forbid we should

wilfully hurt those who are taken from us by putting others in their places !"

The queen and madame Élizabeth, in the presence of Manuel, assisted me in putting together, for these new prisoners at the hôtel de la Force, such things as were most necessary for them. The activity they displayed in making up with me the packages of linen and other articles astonished Manuel; and he saw that, as the king had just told him, the royal family could dispense with the service of strangers. From that day, till I was again taken from the Temple to return no more, I was the sole attendant and servant of the royal family for all that was requisite within their apartments. There was not even a woman left to wait upon the princesses!

Why cannot I spare my readers the perusal of the barbarities to which majesty was exposed? But the picture must be given in all its details, for, from a sketch, no idea can be formed of it.

The day after I returned to the tower of the Temple madame Elizabeth quitted the place originally allotted for her bed-room, and removed into the dauphin's. Madame Royale, who, till then, had slept at her majesty's bed-side, took madame Elizabeth's chamber.

Having to wait upon all the royal family, and being anxious to spare the princesses cares to which, from their rank, they were so unaccustomed, I divided the hours of the day in such a

manner, as to do all that circumstances rendered necessary.

The king rose at seven o'clock, dressed, and went into the little tower, where, as I have already said, he was used to devote himself to prayer and reading. During that time I arranged the room for his return.

At eight o'clock I went down to the queen's apartment, where I always found her and the dauphin up and dressed. From the time she rose till I went to her was the only part of the day she could freely dispose of. With me entered the municipals appointed as guards by the commune. They passed the day in the queen's chamber, and the night in the place which separated it from that of madame Elizabeth. Her majesty and the princesses, except when they were under the necessity of mending their own clothes, or those of the king and the dauphin, employed themselves in working tapestry.

The king continued the education of his son himself. His method of teaching him geography, with which his majesty was perfectly acquainted, was to draw, on vellum paper, the boundaries of the provinces, the positions of the mountains, and the courses of rivers and streams. This outline the dauphin filled up with the names of the provinces, towns, &c. &c.

The queen, on her part, entirely devoted to maternal cares, in which she was assisted by

madame Elizabeth, instructed Madame Royale in the principles of religion, and, after those important exercises, gave her lessons in music and drawing. I well remember receiving orders to ask the princess's drawing-master for some drawings of heads for her to copy, a number of which he gave me. This commission brought upon the royal family the ill humour of a municipal, who must needs see in those heads, copied from antiques, the pictures of the principal monarchs coalesced against France. He had very nearly determined to keep them, and denounce me.

In every particular, the royal family were, in a marked manner, made to suffer privation. Clothes, body linen, bed and table linen, silver forks, plates, and, in short, every necessary of the commonest kind, was supplied so sparingly, that there was not enough for daily use. For some nights I was obliged to make the dauphin's bed with sheets that had holes in many places.

After dinner the king generally went into the library of the keeper of the archives of the order of Malta, who had previously occupied the apartment of the tower. The library remaining there, his majesty went to it to take books. One day, being in that room with him, he pointed to the works of Rousseau and Voltaire, and said to me, in a low voice, "Those two men have ruined France." With the view of recovering the habit of the Latin language, and of teaching, during his confinement,

the dauphin the first lessons of it, the king translated the odes of Horace, and sometimes Cicero. As a relaxation from his reading and study, to which he was always eager to return, the queen and madame Elizabeth played with him after dinner, sometimes a game of piquet, sometimes of tric-trac: in the evening, one of the princesses read a play aloud.

At eight o'clock I laid the dauphin's supper in madame Elizabeth's room, where the queen staid with him while he ate. Then, when the municipals were out of hearing, her majesty made her son say the following prayer:—

"Almighty God! who made and redeemed me, I adore thee. O preserve my father's life, and the lives of my family! Defend us against our enemies! Grant to madame de Tourzel the strength she stands in need of to support the ills she suffers on our account!"

After this prayer, I put the dauphin to bed. The queen and madame Elizabeth staid with him by turns. When the family went to supper, I carried something to eat to whichever of the princesses was sitting by the prince. When the king rose from table, he went immediately to see his son. After staying a few minutes, he took the queen and madame Elizabeth by the hand, kissed Madame Royale, and returned up stairs to his own chamber. Then, going into the little tower,

his majesty remained there till eleven o'clock, his bed-time.

It was only at the moment of his going to bed, and of his rising, that the king ventured to talk to me. Sitting within his curtains, what he said was not heard by the commissioner. One day his majesty, having heard the abuse heaped upon me by the municipal on guard, said to me, "You have had a great deal to bear to-day. For my sake, continue to bear all: make no reply." I had no difficulty in obeying this order. The heavier misfortune weighed upon my master, the more sacred was his person in my eyes.

Another time, when I was placing a black pin at the head of his bed to hang his watch on, he slipped into my hand a piece of paper rolled up. "Here is some of my hair," said he; "it is the only present I can make you at this time." Ever beloved shade! most carefully will I preserve this precious gift! The inheritance of my son, it shall pass from generation to generation; and all of them shall see, in this peculiar mark of the favour of Louis XVI., that they had an ancestor, who, by his fidelity, merited the affection of his king!

The king, I am certain, foresaw that I should soon be taken from the tower. The thought tormented him. One of the doors of the room in which I slept opened into his majesty's chamber, the other on the staircase. By the latter the mu-

nicipals often broke in suddenly, in the middle of the night, to see if I was not employed in secret correspondences. Once particularly, the king being wakened by the noise made by a municipal in his nocturnal visit, was uneasy on my account. As soon as it was light, his majesty, without shoes or stockings, and in his shirt, softly opened a little the door between his chamber and mine. I awoke. The sight of the king, and the situation in which he was, alarmed me. "Sire," said I, agitated, "does your majesty want any thing?"—"No," replied the king; "but, hearing a noise in your room to-night, I was afraid that they had taken you away from me." How was my heart affected! The king went to bed again, and slept tranquilly.

Meanwhile, the intercourse I was obliged to have with the commissioners of the commune, for the service of the royal family, became more and more difficult. The want of the most necessary articles compelled me to repeat my applications. At this juncture a man introduced himself into the Temple, I know not by what title. He assumed the tone of a master, commanded, interfered in every thing, and gave himself the most important airs. Deceived by this appearance of power, I flattered myself that I might obtain, through the influence of this new master, what the inflexibility of the others had so long delayed granting, and I addressed myself to him. This attempt had a very bad effect. Jealous of their power, the

municipals forbade me all communication with this *intriguer*, as they called him. This man, for a long time, played an active part in the revolution. Some months after, being adjutant to Ronsin, when that furious lieutenant to Robespierre commanded in chief the revolutionary army of Paris, he arrested me on his own authority, and was the cause of my detention for eleven months.

At the commencement of their confinement in the Temple, the royal family sometimes went into the garden to walk. They were accompanied by Santerre, and surrounded by the municipal band. When Santerre was absent they had no walk. The dauphin, accustomed to air and exercise, so necessary at his age, was sensibly affected by the want of them. The royal family never went into the garden but they found themselves insulted. At the moment of their going out, the guards stationed at the bottom of the tower, in a marked manner, put on their hats and sat down; and, as soon as the royal family were past, rose and pulled them off.

While I remained in the Temple, the king, though he repeatedly requested it, could not obtain the reading of any journals. He never saw any others than those sometimes forgotten, or designedly left, by one of the municipals on the table in the antichamber. I once saw pencilled on one of those papers, *Tremble, tyrant! the guillotine is permanent*. I tore the paper, and burnt it. The

walls were generally covered with threats of this kind. Some of the sentinels wrote them in chalk upon the very door of the king's chamber. All my attention in wiping them away did not prevent their sometimes meeting his majesty's eyes.

To obtain for the king a summary knowledge of the papers which were cried every night under the walls of the Temple, I went up to the little tower at the time the criers were passing. There, hoisting myself up to the height of a window, two-thirds stopped up, I remained till I could catch the most interesting intelligence. I then returned to the room before the queen's chamber: Madame Elizabeth crossed at the same time into her own chamber, whither I followed her on some pretext, and communicated to her what I had been able to collect. Going back to the queen's room, she went into a balcony at the only window that had not undergone the fate of the others, the apertures of which were all nearly blocked up. The king, without giving the municipals the least ground of suspicion, went to the same window, as if to take the fresh air, and his sister repeated to him what I had reported to her. It was by this means that his majesty was informed of the entrance of the coalesced armies on the territory of France; of the reduction of Longwi and Verdun; of the desertion of M. de la Fayette with his staff; of the death of M. de la

Porte, intendant of the civil list; of that of Durosoi; in short, of most of the principal events.

Whether the daily attention I gave to the public criers was suspected, or that every opportunity was taken to alarm and torment the august prisoners, the hawkers daily cried the most disastrous intelligence, and sometimes mere inventions. They, one day, announced a decree for the separation of the royal family. At the time the queen was within hearing of the crier's voice, and with difficulty saved herself from fainting. It made an impression of terror upon her mind, of which she never got the better.

The king's patience was every day put to new trials. One morning, while he was dressing, the municipal went up to him, and wanted to search his majesty. Without shewing the slightest impatience, the king took the contents of his pockets out, and laid them on the chimney. The municipal examined every thing attentively; then, putting the whole into my hands, said, "What I have done, I received orders to do." After this scene the king ordered me never to give him his clothes again without turning the pockets inside out. In consequence, I took care every night, when the king was in bed, to empty all his pockets. A few days after this the municipal met a tragical end.

Before the removal of the king to the Temple

the civil list had been suppressed ; and it had been settled by a decree that the king should receive annually, for his expenses, the sum of five hundred thousand livres. In obedience to his majesty, I wrote several times to the mayor, but in vain, requesting payments on account of that sum. The mayor gave no answer. This hurt the king much. Foreseeing the fate reserved for him, he wished to pay his expenses monthly.

I likewise made a request, in writing, to the mayor, that the usual physicians of the royal family might be permitted to attend them ; and that the medicines wanted for them might be supplied by his majesty's apothecary. These requests were not favoured with a reply.

The king had but a very small sum of money when he was carried to the Temple. Manuel having made several purchases, according to a memorandum I had given him, sent them to me, with a bill of the expenses, amounting to *five hundred and twenty-six livres.* On seeing this account, which Manuel had signed ; " My purse," said his majesty to me, " is not equal to the payment of such a debt." A sum of six hundred livres, which I had by me, spared the king the humiliation of being in debt to Manuel. On my entreaty, his majesty permitted me to discharge the account.

It was falsely stated, in certain journals, that

the king, in his distress, had accepted a loan of Pétion. It is true, that he remitted a sum to his majesty; but it was on account of that which had been settled upon him by the national assembly. The receipt given by the king ran thus:—"The king acknowledges to have received of M. Pétion the sum of two thousand five hundred and twenty-six livres, including the five hundred and twenty-six livres which the commissioners of the municipality have undertaken to pay to M. Hue, who had advanced them for the service of the king.

Paris, September 3*d*, 1792. LOUIS."

As I had all the service of the tower to perform myself, the king was afraid that the continuation of such a fatigue would be too much for my strength; and, to ease me, he requested the municipal council to send a man to take the laborious part of the work. The mayor appointed for this purpose a man, formerly employed at the barriers of Paris, named Tison. He came to the Temple with his wife. During the time I afterwards remained in the tower, I could not complain of either of them. The woman was of a mild and compassionate disposition: her husband, like most of the people of his condition, was possessed with prejudices against the king. I did every thing I could to gain them, and to prevail upon them to alleviate, as much as they could, the imprisonment of the royal family.

On the 24th of August, between twelve and one in the morning, several municipals went into the king's chamber. Wakened by the noise, I got up as fast as I could: I saw them approach his majesty's bed. "In execution of a decree of the commune," said one of them, "we are come to search your chamber, and to take away whatever arms may be found in it."—"I have none," replied the king. They searched, notwithstanding, but found nothing. "This will not do," said they; "you had a sword when you came to the Temple; give up that." Obliged to bear all, his majesty ordered me to bring his sword. To assist, however involuntarily, in disarming my king, was a shocking thought to me. I gave the sword into the king's hand. "Gentlemen," said he, "I deposit it with you. The more this sacrifice costs me, the more it proves my love of the public peace."

The king, as he was dressing himself the next morning, expressed to me what pain this insult had given him. None before appeared to me to have affected him so much. He ordered me to write immediately, and inform the mayor of what had passed in the night, and to request, on his part, that some mode should be established for making him acquainted with the decrees of the commune. Pétion gave no answer.

This disarming of the king increased my apprehensions for his life. The very next night,

the appearance of a new municipal (a hosier) seemed to justify my fears. This man, whose person was tall and robust, whose face was tanned and gloomy, entered the king's chamber, with a knotted club in his hand. His majesty was just gone to bed. "I am come here," said he, as he went in, "to make a strict scrutiny. There is no knowing what may happen. I must be certain that Monsieur" (he meant the king) "has no means of escaping." Such a beginning was calculated to increase my alarm. This man, thought I, has certainly wicked designs. Addressing him, I said, "The scrutiny was made by your colleagues last night: the king had the goodness to suffer it."—"He was forced," replied the municipal; "if he had resisted, who would have been the strongest?" These words strengthened my suspicions; and being resolved to defend, to my last breath, my master's life, I said to this commissioner, "I shall not go to bed; I will sit with you."—"Fatigued as you are," said the king to me, "you must go to bed; I insist upon it." I retired without reply; but as, from the situation of the door, the king could not from his bed see mine, I threw myself on it without taking off my clothes, and, fixing my eyes on the man, held myself ready, at the least suspicious motion, to seize him. My fears were unfounded: this municipal, who was bent on appearing so terrible, slept soundly till the

morning. The day after this new scene, the king said to me, as he was dressing, "That man alarmed you extremely: I felt for your uneasiness, and, indeed, I thought myself in some danger; but, in the state to which I am reduced, I have made up my mind to all."

The succeeding day, the mayor wrote to the king that M. Cléry had offered himself for the service of the dauphin. "Read that letter," said his majesty to me, "and answer the mayor, that I consent to it. Add, that I cannot see, without indignation, that the municipality affect not to answer the requests I make, and particularly that of letting the physician, who usually attended my children, come to us."

On the same day a municipal commissioner brought M. Cléry to the tower.

Perpetually beset by municipal gaolers, the queen and madame Elizabeth could only by stealth give me orders, and speak at times of their sufferings. One day, as my duty led me to the apartment of madame Elizabeth, I found her at her prayers, and was immediately about to withdraw. "Stay," said she: "do what you have to do; it will not disturb me." The prayer she used, and which she permitted me to copy, was as follows:—

"O my God! I know not what is now to happen to me: but this I know, that nothing will happen to me which thou hast not foreseen from

all eternity; and this, O my God! is enough to give peace to my mind. I adore thy eternal designs: I submit to them from the bottom of my heart: I desire all; I accept all; I make a sacrifice of all to Thee. I add this sacrifice to that of thy beloved Son, my Saviour, beseeching Thee, by his holy Spirit, and by his infinite merits, to inspire me with patience under our afflictions, and with that perfect submission which is due to Thee in all that Thou willest, and in all that Thou permittest."

When she had finished praying, she said to me, "It is less for the unfortunate king than for his misled people that I pray. May the Lord vouchsafe to give ear to my prayer, and look down with pity upon France!" This proof of heroic generosity made on me an impression which the princess perceived. "Keep up your spirits," added she: "God never afflicts us more than we can bear."

After Tison and his wife came to the Temple, and Cléry shared the work which had previously been done entirely by myself, my labour was, indeed, diminished; but, if my body suffered less on that account, it prepared for my heart inexpressible torture. The striking marks of kindness bestowed upon me by the king and royal family gave offence to certain municipals. I had perceived it, and had even reason to fear, every moment, that I should be taken from the tower.

My apprehension was but too well founded: nothing, however, was said, to apprize me of the blow about to fall upon me.

On the 2d of September, having done my usual work, and the king and royal family being in the garden, I was alone in the queen's room, where I stood at the window for the air. About five o'clock I suddenly heard the drums beat to arms, and at the same time a confused noise made me suspect some extraordinary commotion in Paris. What a municipal had, a few days before, told me in confidence, respecting domiciliary visits, seizure of arms, and numerous imprisonments, came to my recollection. A thousand disastrous conjectures were rising in my mind, when, on a sudden, I saw two commissioners go out of the palace of the Temple, advance with large strides towards the royal family, and send them in immediately. I was with Cléry, in the king's chamber, when his majesty came in. Surrounded by his family, he received the two municipals standing. Mathieu, one of them, had been a Capuchin friar. While I live, I shall never forget the atrocious speech of that apostate monk.

"Sir," said he to the king, "you do not know what is passing in Paris. The drum is every where beating to arms,—minute-guns are firing,—the people are enraged, and calling out for vengeance. Not content with having had our brethren

massacred on the 10th of August, to have used chewed balls against them, thousands of which have been picked up at the Thuileries, you have now called in upon us a ferocious enemy, who threatens to massacre us, our wives, and children. Our death is sworn; we know it: but, before it reaches us, you and your family will fall by the very hands of the municipal officers who guard you. There is yet time; and, if you choose, you may ....."—"I have done every thing for the happiness of my people," replied the king with firmness: "there is nothing more for me to do."

This answer has often recurred to my mind, when I have heard mention made of a pretended letter of Louis XVI. to the king of Prussia, to prevail upon that monarch to retreat *. M. de Malesherbes, and M. de Sèze, the official defenders of the king, assured me that there never existed such a letter, so contrary to the wishes which I have, myself, heard expressed by Louis XVI., and the royal family, for their deliverance.

Scarcely had the king, near whom I was at that

* It was reported that this letter was written when the king of Prussia, already master of Longwy and Verdun, was marching at the head of a victorious army towards Chalons, in Champagne, and was only five-and-forty leagues from Paris.

moment standing, ceased speaking, when Mathieu called out: "I arrest you."—"Whom? I!" said his majesty.—"No; your valet-de-chambre."—"What has he done? He is attached to me; that is his crime: at least spare his life!"—"By what right," said I to the municipal, "do you arrest me? and whither do you mean to carry me?"—"I am not obliged to tell you," replied Mathieu: "I have my orders." I then attempted to go up to my own room; but Mathieu, seizing me by the arm, said, "Stop! you are in my custody." I was, however, suffered to go up; but he followed me.

I wanted to carry with me some linen and my razors. "No razors," said the municipal: "where I am going to take you, you will be shaved. I can assure you that the barbers will not pass you by." I understood Mathieu's words in their real meaning. I was silent, convinced that I was going straight to the scaffold. I was no sooner out of my chamber than seals were affixed to both the doors; nor were they taken off till after the death of Louis XVI. Going down to the queen's chamber, I delivered to the king, by permission of the municipals, some papers which belonged to him. "Unhappy man!" said he to me, in the greatest anguish; "you have advanced for me the little money you had left, and now you are going away without any resource."—"Sire, I want

nothing." Sobs and tears stifled my words. Every individual of the royal family honoured me with some mark of feeling. As this affecting scene might be productive of fatal effects, I made another effort to recover myself; and I told the men who had charge of me, that I was ready to follow them.

At the bottom of the tower stairs, two gendarmes joined Mathieu. We all went into a public carriage, and drove off. In the way which the carriage took, what dreadful sights did I behold! The passengers were flying with terror painted in their faces. The people were shutting up their doors, windows, and shops, as fast as they could. The inhabitants were hiding themselves in the remotest corners of their houses. I heard the horrid bellowings of the assassins, and the lamentable shrieks of the victims: monsters covered with blood, having daggers, cutlasses, and bludgeons in their hands, were parading the streets, shewing the people the bloody trophies of their cruelties *.

* Those who are accustomed to think lightly of the overthrow of governments would do well to regard closely the situation of Paris at this dreadful moment, when, the chief magistrate having been made captive, and authority consequently ceasing, crime became the surest road to triumph, and the peaceable found no security except in joining the shout of murderers, or in secretly abandoning

When we at length came to the Place de Grève, I was seized with inexpressible horror. The square was filled with an immense crowd, most

their homes and property. Ever since the 10th of August the prisons had been filling by the arrest of all who dared to think in the least favourably of the royal cause, or who were even suspected of so doing. On the fatal 2d of September, bands of the most horrible assassins entered the prisons; and a part of the monsters proceeded to form a sort of mock judicature, whilst the rest stood without the gates in two ranks, armed with implements of death, and ready for the work of destruction. The prisoners, among whom were many of the very first rank, were brought before their judges singly; and the sentence of death being pronounced, which, by agreement, was couched in these words, "Let the prisoner be liberated," he was taken through the gate, and instantly sacrificed. It was at the prison of La Force where the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe was assassinated. After having been compelled to undergo a summary kind of mock trial, she was led to the gate of the prison, where, stupified with horror at the mangled bodies which lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which occasioned a violent effusion of blood! She was then seized by two wretches, who forced her to continue walking over the dead bodies; but her strength quickly leaving her, she fell, appearing now only anxious to preserve a decent attitude. Her head was then severed from the body, and both treated with the most disgusting exposure. The massacres at the prisons (besides those of private pique, by no means unfrequent at this alarming crisis) were continued, or renewed

of them brandishing swords, pikes, and guns. It being impossible for the carriage to drive up to the steps of the hôtel de Ville, I was made to alight, and pass through the multitude. "Good!" was their cry; "Good! Here's guillotine game! This is the tyrant's valet-de-chambre." At sight of this danger, anxious not to dishonour the sacrifice of my life, I prayed God to strengthen my soul. Absorbed by this thought, I entered the hall of the commune, and was placed near the president.

At a little distance was Santerre. This great commander of the Paris militia was listening, with an air of ability, to plans which people half drunk were laying down for stopping the foreign armies. Some proposed to rise in mass, and march to meet the enemy. At the bar of the court, the usual place of the procureur of the commune, Billaud de Varennes, one of the deputy-procureurs, and Robespierre, were very busy, crying out, giving orders, and appearing extremely heated. In this hall and the adjoining rooms the tumult was excessive.

Amidst this disorder the president called for silence, and put a question to me. Before it was

for several days, during which upwards of a thousand persons perished.—Vide Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 122; and Bertrand's Annals, vol. vii. p. 362.

possible for me to answer, there was a cry from all parts, of *To the Abbaye! To la Force!* At that moment they were massacreing the prisoners. As soon as silence could be obtained, my examination began. I was accused of facts, most of which were imaginary.

"You sent to the tower of the Temple," said one of the municipals, "a portmanteau, containing tri-coloured ribbons, and divers disguises for the purpose of the royal family's escaping."—"I heard the king," cried another, "say to him, forty-five; and the queen, fifty-two. By these two numbers, he understood the prince de Poix, and the traitor Bouillé." I was likewise arraigned for having commanded a waistcoat and breeches of Savoyard colour *,—proof positive of an intelligence with the king of Sardinia. I had indeed written, and submitted to the inspection of the commissioners on guard, a demand for a suit of clothes of that kind for Tison. I was further accused of clandestinely conveying certain letters to the king and queen, and of using hieroglyphic characters to carry on their correspondence. These hieroglyphics were nothing more than a book of arithmetic. I used every night, before the dauphin went to bed, to put this book on his bolster, that he might in the

* Certain inhabitants of Savoy wore clothes of a deep brown colour, whence the expression *Couleur Savoyard*

morning learn the lesson which the king had set him.

An unpardonable charge was that of having sung in the tower the air and words of "*O Richard! O mon Roi!*" &c. I had not sung either air or words; and, even if I had, it was too true, that, like Richard, the king was deserted; that his subjects the most devoted to his person and cause had gone to a distance to serve him; that, of those who had remained near him, some were massacred on the 10th of August, others were then under arrest or flying: and was I to be as insensible to the afflictions of my master as his persecutors affected to be?

The last complaint against me was the marked kindness bestowed upon me by the royal family, while they hardly spoke to the municipal commissioners.

At this last charge I was struck dumb. The clamour was renewed: *To the Abbaye! To la Force!* At length, when the fury against me was at its height, Billaud de Varennes cried out, "This valet, once before treated with lenity and sent back to the Temple, has betrayed the confidence of the people: he deserves exemplary punishment." At that instant a municipal rose and said,—"This man holds the clue of the plot laid in the tower: to secure him, confine him apart, and obtain from him all the information he can give, will be more useful and prudent than to

send him to the *Abbaye* or *la Force.*" Whatever, at that moment, might have been the municipal's motive, his observation saved my life. It was determined that I should be confined in one of the dungeons of the hôtel de Ville. I was immediately given to the custody of a turnkey, who took me out of the hall of the commune, and, having searched me, conducted me to the separate cell ordered for me, opened an iron door, and shut me in*.

What a situation was mine! Alone, in utter darkness, haunted by the thoughts of the assassinations at that time going on in the prisons of Paris; hearing the cut-throats walking near my dungeon, and calling for my head; remembering that I had left the king and royal family in prison! I still shudder at the recollection of those dreadful ideas.

In entering my dungeon, I saw by the light of the turnkey's lantern a sorry bed. I groped my way to it. Oppressed with fatigue, and at length overcome by sleep, I had become for a moment insensible of my dangerous position, when I was suddenly awakened by a confused noise. I listened, and distinctly heard these words†: "Wife,

* From the 2d of September, the day I was first imprisoned, the narrative of the occurrences in the Tower has been published by M. Cléry, who succeeded me. Vide chapter xi.

† It was the warden, whose name was Viel, speaking to his wife.

the assassins have done in the other prisons, and are coming to those of the commune. Quick, throw me our best things; come down, and let us fly." At these words I started from my bed, fell on my knees, and, raising my hands to heaven, waited in that posture the blow that was to put an end to my life. In about an hour I heard myself called: I made no reply. I was called again; I listened. "Come to your window," said somebody in a low voice. I advanced. "Do not be afraid," added the voice: "several people here are taking care of your life." After my enlargement I made fruitless inquiries to discover this generous protector. Compassionate man! whoever you are, wherever you reside, receive the tribute of a gratitude, which, while I live, will know no end!

Six-and-thirty hours passed without any person coming into my cell, without food, or the hope of any. I knew that the warden and his wife had fled. I imagined that the turnkey had done the same. On this reflection the remainer of my fortitude forsook me. A cold sweat, a shivering all over, and the pangs of death, came upon me; I fell into a swoon. When I came to myself I was ready to call the assassins, whom, by the light of the lamps, I saw passing and repassing in the court. I was going to beg them to put an end to my protracted agonies, when a faint light coming through the boards above me struck my eyes. By

means of a wretched table and two stools, which I piled one upon the other, I raised myself high enough to reach the top of the cell, and I rapped several times at the spot through which the light came. A trap-door opened, and some person in a mild voice said, "What do you want?" I replied, in the accents of despair, "Bread or death." It was the warden's wife* who spoke to me. "Recover yourself," said she, I will take care of you." She immediately brought me bread, a bit of meat, and some water. While I remained confined in this place, this compassionate woman had the goodness to supply me with nourishment. She furnished me with a wickered bottle, which, whenever I wanted water, I presented at the trap-door, and she filled it. By this means the door of my cell was seldom opened, and I remained the better concealed.

Nevertheless, men whose arms and clothes were smeared with blood came up at times to the window of my cell, looking to see if any victim were lodged there. But the darkness of the place, increased by the interposition of their bodies, prevented their observing me. "Is there any one here to be worked†?" said they, in their horrible

* Madame Viel, whose goodness I can never acknowledge too much.

† To *work*, in the revolutionary language of that time, was synonymous to *massacreing*.

jargon. As soon as they were gone, I peeped out to see what was passing in the court. The first thing I saw was the assassins casting filth on the statue of Louis XIV., which lay overturned upon the ground, and playing with the bloody remains of their victims. They were relating to one another the details of their murders, shewing the money they had earned, and complaining of not having received what had been promised them.

After passing a few days in this manner, I was visited by Manuel. From him I learnt, that of all the persons who had left the tower of the Temple with me, the first time I was taken from it, only one had been sacrificed, and that was the princess de Lamballe. He related her melancholy death to me; and added, "The massacres are over, you need not now be afraid; I will save you, but I must have time." I was afterwards told by Cléry that the king and royal family had earnestly entreated Manuel to save my life, and that he promised to do it.

On the 14th of September I was again examined by a committee of municipal officers. After the examination was over I was following the warden back to my cell, when one of the committee (M. de Boyenval), whom I never saw before, came towards me. I thought he only meant to shut the door after I was out. How much was I mistaken! for, as soon as he was near enough to

speak without being heard except by me, he said quickly, "You are pitied, you will not remain long in your present state." I am not able to express what I felt.

Manuel was come back: as *procureur-syndic* of the commune he stated his opinion on my examination, which was in favour of my enlargement. But, in consequence of a new resolution of the commune, every prisoner was to be examined by a jury. This circumstance, which delayed my trial a day, served to render it the more solemn. I appeared before this jury, who acquitted me of every charge, and caused me to be set at liberty*.

Notwithstanding all the dangers I had run, liberty had not the same charms for me that it had for the other intended victims who had escaped death. The imprisonment of the king and royal family, ever present to my mind, robbed me of all rest and enjoyment. To walk to the tower of the Temple was the only solace of my misery. I contemplated that wretched abode, where the first

* One of the municipals, named Dangé, who afterwards lost his head on the scaffold, offered to see me to my lodgings, —an offer I readily accepted. In the way, he was so lost to shame as to shew me several miniature pictures which he had taken for himself on the day of the massacres. "Do you know the faces?" said he to me. With one of them I was particularly acquainted. "Well!" added he, "not one of these persons are now alive." I shuddered with horror, and abruptly quitted this ferocious conductor.

of kings, a king so deserving of love, was imprisoned by his rebellious subjects. My imagination took a view of the interior with painful interest. If, cried I, in a tone of despair, my eyes are never more to behold the sacred objects of my attachment, at least my heart will ever be faithful to them. I will every where attest, I will tell the whole world, I will write, I will publish, the conspiracies and plots of their enemies, and the goodness, the innocence, the virtues of these victims; I will present to future generations a picture of the woes of the present age; I will proclaim what I know; I will paint what I have seen: I will, if possible, raise the actions of my master, by publishing his motives; I will tell, I will repeat to the French, I will teach their children, that, from the suggestions of his own heart, Louis XVI. did every thing for the happiness of his people.

Restless, day and night, from the desire of returning to the Temple, I made fruitless applications to Pétion. After he was returned a representative in the national convention, I determined to see Chaumette, then *procureur-syndic* of the commune. This man received me much better than I expected. He desired to converse confidentially with me, and gave orders not to be interrupted. At first he talked to me of his birth, of the employments of his youth, and of the severities he had experienced from the government.

He then frankly owned the treachery of several persons in the king's service. He next spoke of the royal family, and appeared to take an interest in the dauphin. "I wish," said he, "to give him some education. I will take him from his family, to make him lose the idea of his rank. As for the king," added he, "he will perish. The king loves you." These last words brought tears into my eyes. I endeavoured to restrain them; which Chaumette perceiving, "Give way," said he, "to your feelings: were you for an instant to cease regretting your master, I should myself despise you." Notwithstanding this cordial reception, my application to Chaumette was unsuccessful. Deprived of all hope but that of obtaining, as often as I possibly could, tidings of the royal family, I took advantage of every means of satisfying myself, and I at length succeeded in procuring regular and certain intelligence of what passed in the tower of the Temple.

CHAP. IX.

M. Cléry is permitted to attend the Royal Family.—Occurrences at the Temple on the Massacres of September.—Domestic Habits of the Royal Family.—Insults to which they were exposed.—Establishment of the Republic.

M. CLÉRY, who with difficulty escaped the massacre at the palace on the 10th of August, and succeeded in obtaining permission to manifest his attachment to the royal family by continuing his services throughout the gloomy period of their most acute sufferings, was thus enabled to furnish his important narrative. Having been, he observes, the only continual witness of the insults which the king and his family were made to suffer, I alone can report and attest them with exactness. I shall accordingly confine myself to a detail of the facts simply and impartially, without mixing with them my own opinions.

I entered the tower of the Temple at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th of August, having been first searched, and informed of the manner in which it was expected I should behave. It would be difficult for me to describe the impression made upon me by the sight of this au-

gust and unfortunate family. The queen first spoke to me, and, after some expressions full of goodness, she said, "You will attend my son, and concert with M. Hue as to us." I was so overcome that I could scarcely make an answer.

For the first eight days of my being at the Temple, I had no communication out of doors, M. Hue being the only person commissioned to ask for and receive whatever was necessary for the royal family, on whom we attended jointly and without distinction. With respect to the king himself, I had only to dress him in the morning, and roll his hair at night. Perceiving that I was incessantly watched by the municipal officers, who took umbrage at the slightest trifle, I very cautiously avoided any indiscretion, which would infallibly have been my ruin.

On the 2d of September there were great tumults about the Temple. The king and the family having come down as usual to walk in the garden, a municipal officer that followed the king said to one of his associates, "We were wrong in allowing them to walk this afternoon." I had taken notice in the morning that the commissioners from the municipality were uneasy. They made the royal family return in a violent hurry; but they were scarcely assembled in the queen's chamber, when two of the officers, who were not on duty at the tower, came in, one of whom, whose name was Mathieu, formerly a capuchin,

thus addressed the king:—"You are unacquainted, sir, with what is passing. The country is in the greatest danger; the enemy have entered Champagne, and the king of Prussia is marching to Chalons. You will have to answer for all the mischief that may follow. We know that we, our wives and children, must perish; but the people shall be avenged. You shall be the first to die; however, there is yet time, and you may"——Here the king replied, that he had done every thing for the people, and had nothing to reproach himself with.—On which the same fellow, turning to M. Hue, said,—"The council of the commune have charged me to take you into custody."—"Whom?" cried the king.—"Your valet-de-chambre" was the reply. The king desired to know of what crime he was accused; but, not being able to obtain information, became the more uneasy for his fate, and recommended him with great concern to the two officers. Seals were put, in the presence of M. Hue, on the small room occupied by him, and he was taken away at six in the evening, after having been twenty days in the Temple. Mathieu, as he was going out, told me to take care how I conducted myself, "for," said he, "it may be your turn next."

The king then called me to him, and gave me some papers which he had received from M. Hue, containing accounts of expenses. The disturbed looks of the municipal officers, and the clamours

of the populace in the neighbourhood of the tower, affected him exceedingly. After the king went to bed, he desired me to sleep near him, and I placed my bed by his majesty's.

On the 3d of September his majesty, when I was dressing him, asked me if I had heard any news of M. Hue, and if I knew any thing of the commotions in Paris. I told him that in the course of the night I had heard an officer say the people were going to the prisons; but I would try if I could learn any thing more. "Take care," said his majesty, "not to expose yourself, for we should then be left alone; and, indeed, I fear it is their intention to put strangers about us."

At eleven in the forenoon, the king having joined his family in the queen's chamber, a municipal officer desired me to go up to the king's, where I found Manuel and some members of the commune. Manuel asked me what the king had said of M. Hue's being taken away. I answered, that it had made his majesty very uneasy. "He will come to no harm," said he; "but I am commanded to inform the king that he is not to return, but that the council will put a person in his place. You may go and break this to him." I begged to be excused, adding, that the king desired to see him respecting several things of which the royal family stood in great need. Manuel could scarcely prevail upon himself to go down to the chamber where his majesty was.

He communicated the order of the council of the commune concerning M. Hue, and informed him that another person was to be sent. "By no means," replied the king; "I will make use of my son's valet-de-chambre; and, if the council object to that, I will wait upon myself: I am resolved." His majesty then mentioned that the family were in want of linen and other clothing. Manuel said he would go and make it known to the council, and retired. I asked him, as I conducted him out, if the tumults continued, and his answers excited my apprehensions that the populace might visit the Temple. "You have undertaken a perilous service," added he, "and I advise you to prepare all your courage."

At one o'clock the king and the family expressed a desire to walk, but were refused. When they were dining drums were heard, and soon after the cries of the populace. The royal family rose from table with great uneasiness, and assembled in the queen's chamber. I went down to dine with Tison and his wife, who were employed for the service of the tower.

We were scarcely seated when a head on the point of a pike was held to the window. Tison's wife gave a violent scream, which the murderers supposed to have proceeded from the queen, and we heard the savages laughing immoderately. Imagining that her majesty was still at dinner, they placed their victim in such a manner that it

could not escape her sight. The head was the princess de Lamballe's, which, though bleeding, was not disfigured; and her fine light hair, still curling, waved round the pike.

I ran instantly to the king. My countenance was so altered by terror, that it was perceived by the queen, from whom it was necessary to hide the cause; and I wished to make it known to the king only, or to madame Elizabeth, but the two commissioners of the municipality were present. "Why don't you go and dine?" said the queen. I replied that I was not well; and at that moment another municipal officer, entering the tower, came and spoke to his associates with an air of mystery. On the king's asking if his family was in safety, they answered, "It has been reported that you and your family are gone from the tower, and the people are calling for you to appear at the window; but we shall not suffer it, for they ought to shew more confidence in their magistrates."

In the mean time the clamour without increased, and insults addressed to the queen were distinctly heard; when another municipal officer came in, followed by four men, deputed by the populace to ascertain whether the royal family was or was not in the tower. One of them, accoutred in the uniform of the national guards, with two epaulettes, and a huge sabre in his hand, insisted that the prisoners should shew

themselves at the windows; but the municipal officers would not allow it: upon which the fellow said to the queen, in the most indecent manner; "They want to keep you from seeing de Lamballe's head, which has been brought you, that you may know how the people avenge themselves upon their tyrants: I advise you to shew yourself, if you would not have them come up here." At this threat the queen fainted away. I flew to support her, and madame Elizabeth assisted me in placing her upon a chair; while her children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their caresses to bring her to herself. The wretch kept looking on; and the king, with a firm voice, said to him, "We are prepared for every thing, sir; but you might have dispensed with relating this horrible disaster to the queen." Their purpose being accomplished, he went away with his companions.

The queen, coming to herself, mingled her tears with those of her children, and all the family removed to madame Elizabeth's chamber, where the noises of the mob were less heard. I remained a short time in the queen's, and, looking out at the window through the blinds, I again saw the princess de Lamballe's head. The person that carried it was mounted upon the rubbish of some houses that were ordered to be pulled down, for the purpose of insulating the tower: another stood behind him, holding the heart of that unfortunate princess, covered with blood, on the point of a

sabre. The crowd, being inclined to force the gate of the tower, was harangued by a municipal officer named Daujon, and I very distinctly heard him say, "The head of Antoinette does not belong to you; the departments have their respective rights to it. France has confided these great culprits to the care of the city of Paris; and it is your part to assist in securing them, until the national justice takes vengeance for the people." He was more than an hour debating with them before he could get them away.

On the evening of the same day, one of the commissioners told me that the mob had attempted to rush in with their four deputies, and to carry into the tower the body of the princess de Lamballe, naked and bloody, as it had been dragged from the prison de la Force to the Temple; that some municipal officers, after struggling with them, had hung a tri-coloured ribbon across the principal gate, as a bar against them; that the commune of Paris, general Santerre, and the national assembly, had been all called upon in vain for assistance, to put a stop to designs which no pains were taken to conceal; and that, for six hours, it was very doubtful whether the royal family would be massacred or not. In truth, the faction was not yet sufficiently powerful; the chiefs, although they were unanimous as to the regicide, were not so as to the means of perpe-

trating it, and the assembly were, perhaps, willing that any other hands but their's should be the instruments of the conspirators. It struck me as a remarkable circumstance that the municipal officer, after the narrative he gave me, made me pay him five-and forty sous, which the tri-coloured ribbon had cost.

At eight in the evening all was calm in the neighbourhood of the tower, but the same tranquillity was far from reigning throughout Paris, where the massacres were continued for four or five days. I had an opportunity, when the king was going to bed, to tell him of the commotions I had seen, and the particulars I had heard. He asked me which of the municipal officers had shewn most firmness in defending the lives of his family. I mentioned Daujon as having stopped the impetuosity of the people, though nothing was farther from his heart than good will to his majesty. He did not come to the tower again for four months, and then the king, recollecting his conduct, thanked him.

The day following was still very melancholy, from the recollections of the preceding one; but the scenes of horror I have been relating having been followed with some degree of tranquillity, the royal family resumed the uniform mode of life which they had adopted on their arrival at the Temple. That the particulars may be the

more easily understood, I shall here give a description of the small tower, in which the king was then confined.

It stood with its back against the great tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets there was a narrow staircase that led from the first floor to a gallery on the platform: in the other were small rooms answering to each story of the tower.

The body of the building was four stories high. The first consisted of an antichamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there was a library containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes.

The second story was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the queen's bed-chamber, in which the dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the queen's by a small antichamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale and madame Elizabeth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room on this story, and that turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the royal family, the municipal officers, and the soldiers.

The king's apartments were on the third story. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret-closet. There was a kitchen, separated from the king's chamber by a small dark room,

which had been successively occupied by M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth story was shut up; and on the ground floor there were kitchens, of which no use was made.

The king usually rose at six in the morning: he shaved himself, and I dressed his hair. He then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the municipal officer on duty remained in the bed-chamber with the door open, that he might always keep the king in sight. His majesty continued praying on his knees for five or six minutes, and then read till nine o'clock. In that interval, after putting his chamber to rights, and preparing the breakfast, I went down to the queen, who never opened her door till I arrived, in order to prevent the municipal officer from going into her apartment. I dressed the prince, and combed the queen's hair; then went and did the same for Madame Royale and madame Elizabeth. This service afforded one of the opportunities I had of communicating to the queen and princesses whatever I learnt; for, when they found by a sign that I had something to say, one of them kept the municipal officer in talk, to divert his attention.

At nine o'clock, the queen, the children, and madame Elizabeth, went up to the king's chamber to breakfast, which having prepared for them, I put the queen and the princesses' chambers to rights, with the assistance of Tison and his wife,—

the only kind of work in which they gave me any help. It was not for this service only that these people were placed in the tower; a more important part was assigned them: they were to observe whatever escaped the vigilance of the commissioners of the municipality, and even to inform against those officers themselves. They were also doubtless intended to be made useful in the perpetration of whatever crimes might enter into the plan of those who had appointed them; for the woman, who then appeared of a mild disposition, and stood in great awe of her husband, has since betrayed herself in an infamous accusation of the queen, at the conclusion of which she was seized with fits of madness: and as for Tison, who had formerly been a custom-house officer of the lowest rank, he was an old fellow of a ferocious temper, incapable of pity, and a stranger to every sentiment of humanity. The conspirators seemed determined to place the most vicious and degraded of mankind near the most virtuous and august.

At ten o'clock, the king and the family went down to the queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his son, made him recite passages from Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The prince's early quickness of apprehension fully repaid the fond cares of the king. He had so happy a memory, that on a map, covered over with a blank sheet

of paper, he could point out the departments, districts, towns, and courses of the rivers. It was the new geography of France which the king taught him. The queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining hour till noon was passed in needle-work, knitting, or making tapestry. At noon, the queen and princesses retired to madame Elizabeth's chamber, to change their dress: no municipal officer went in with them.

At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the royal family were conducted to the garden by four municipal officers, and the commander of a legion of the national guards. A great number of workmen being employed in the Temple, pulling down houses and raising new walls, the only walk allowed was a part of that under the great chesnut-trees. Being permitted to attend on these occasions, I engaged the young prince to play, sometimes at foot-ball, sometimes at coits, at racing, and other active sports.

At two we returned to the tower, where I served the dinner; at which time Santerre, the brewer, who was commander-in-chief of the national guards of Paris, regularly came every day to the Temple, attended by two aid-de-camps. He minutely examined the different rooms. The king sometimes spoke to him, but the queen never. After dinner, the royal family withdrew to the

queen's chamber, where their majesties usually played a party of piquet or tric-trac; at which time I went to dinner.

At four o'clock the king lay down for a few minutes, the family, with books in their hands, sitting round him, and keeping profound silence while he slept. What a sight! a monarch persecuted by hatred and calumny, fallen from his throne into a prison; yet supported by the purity of his mind, and enjoying the peaceful slumbers of the good; his consort, his children and his sister, with reverence contemplating his majestic countenance, whose serenity seemed to have increased with misfortune, and on which one might read by anticipation the bliss he now enjoys; —a sight that will never be effaced from my memory.

On the king's waking, the conversation was resumed; and he would make me sit down by him, while I taught his son to write. The copies I set were chosen by himself from the works of Montesquieu, and other celebrated authors. When this lesson was over, I attended the young prince to madame Elizabeth's chamber, where he played at ball or shuttlecock.

In the evening the family sat round a table, while the queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse her children, in which she often, unexpectedly, met with situations correspondent to her own, that gave

birth to very afflicting reflections. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. I then gave the prince his supper in madame Elizabeth's chamber, during which the family looked on; and the king took pleasure in diverting the children, by making them guess riddles in a collection of the *Mercures de France,* which he had found in the library.

After the dauphin had supped I undressed him, and the queen heard him say his prayers: he said one in particular for the princess de Lamballe, and in another he begged of God to protect the life of the marchioness de Tourzel, his governess. When the municipal officers were too near, the prince, of his own accord, had the precaution to say these two prayers in a low voice. We were out of their sight only two or three minutes, just before I put him into bed; and, if I had any thing to communicate to the queen, I took that opportunity. I acquainted her with the contents of the journals; for, though none of them were permitted in the tower, a newsman, sent on purpose, used to come every night at seven o'clock, and, standing near the wall by the side of the round tower in the Temple enclosure, cried, several times over, an account of all that had been passing at the national assembly, at the commune, and in the armies. Placing myself in the king's reading-room, I listened, and, with the advantage of perfect silence, remembered all I heard.

At nine the king went to supper, while the queen and madame Elizabeth took it in turns to stay with the dauphin: and, as I carried them whatever they wished from the table, it afforded me another opportunity of speaking to them without witnesses.

After supper, the king went for a moment to the queen's chamber, shook hands with her and his sister for the night, and kissed his children; then, going to his own apartment, he retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The queen and the princesses locked themselves in; and one of the municipal officers remained in the little room which parted their chambers, where he passed the night; the other followed his majesty.

I then made up my bed near the king's; but his majesty, before he went to rest, waited to know who was the new municipal officer on duty, and, if he had never seen him, commanded me to inquire his name. The municipal officers were relieved at eleven o'clock in the morning, five in the afternoon, and at midnight. In this manner was the time passed as long as the king remained in the small tower, which was till the 30th of September.

I shall now resume the order of occurrences. On the 4th of September Pétion's secretary came to the tower, to bring the king a sum of two thousand livres in assignats, for which he obliged him to

give a receipt. His majesty requested him to pay M. Hue five hundred and twenty-six livres, which he had advanced for his service, and he promised to do it. This sum of two thousand livres was the only payment made, notwithstanding the legislative assembly had voted 500,000 livres for his majesty's expenses at the tower of the Temple, though doubtless before they had suspected, or before they had dared to engage in, the real designs of their leaders.

Two days after, madame Elizabeth desired me to collect some trifling things belonging to the princess de Lamballe, which she had left at the tower when she was carried off. I made them up into a parcel, which I directed with a letter to her chief waiting-woman; and I have since learnt that neither the parcel nor the letter were ever delivered.

At this period, the characters of the greater part of the municipal officers picked out for the Temple shewed what sort of men had been employed for the revolution of the 10th of August, and for the massacres of the 2d of September.

One of them, named James, a teacher of the English language, took it into his head one day to follow the king into his closet, and to sit down by him. His majesty mildly told him that there his colleagues had always left him by himself; that, as the door stood open, he could never be out of his sight; but that the room was too small for two.

James persisted, in a harsh and brutal manner. The king was forced to submit; and, giving up his course of reading for that day, returned to his chamber, where the municipal officer continued to beset him with the most tyrannical superintendence.

One morning, when the king rose, he thought the commissioner on duty was the same who had been upon guard the evening before, and expressed some concern that he had not been relieved; but this mark of goodness was only answered with insults. "I come here," said the man, "to watch your conduct, and not for you to busy yourself with mine." Then, going up close to his majesty, with his hat on his head, he continued, —"Nobody has a right to meddle with it, and you less than any one else." He was insolent the whole day. I have since learnt that his name was Meunier.

Another commissioner, whose name was Le Clerc, a physician, being in the queen's chamber when I was teaching the prince to write, interrupted him to pronounce a discourse on the republican education which it was necessary to give the dauphin, and he wanted to change the books he was studying for works of the most revolutionary nature.

A fourth was present when the queen was reading to her children from a volume of the history of France, at the period when the constable de Bourbon took up arms against France. He pre-

tended that the queen meant by this to instil into the mind of her son ideas of vengeance against his country, and laid a formal information against it before the council; which I made known to her majesty, who afterwards selected subjects that could not be taken hold of to calumniate her intentions.

A man named Simon, shoe-maker and municipal officer, was one of the six commissioners appointed to inspect the works and expenses at the Temple. He was the only one who, under pretence of attending rigidly to his duty, never quitted the tower. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the royal family, always treated them with the vilest insolence; and would frequently say to me, so near the king as to be heard by him, "Cléry, ask Capet if he wants any thing, that I mayn't have the trouble of coming up twice." I was obliged to answer that he wanted nothing. This is the same Simon to whose care the young Louis was afterwards consigned, and who, by a systematic barbarity, prolonged the torments of that amiable and unfortunate child. There is also great reason to believe that he was the instrument made use of to shorten his days.

In teaching the young prince to cipher I had made a multiplication-table, according to directions given by the queen, which a municipal officer pretended was a means she took to teach her son how to correspond by secret signs, and

he was obliged to give up the study of arithmetic.

The same thing had happened with respect to the tapestry which the queen and madame Elizabeth had worked on their being first confined. Having finished some chair-backs, the queen ordered me to send them to the duchess de Sérent; but the municipal officers, whose leave I asked, thought that the designs contained hieroglyphics for the purpose of corresponding, and, in consequence, obtained an order, by which it was forbidden to suffer the works of the queen and princesses to be sent out of the tower.

There were some of the municipal officers who never spoke of any of the royal family without the addition of the most insulting epithets. One of them, named Turlot, one day said in my hearing, "If no executioner could be found to guillotine this d——d family, I would guillotine them myself!"

When the king and family went to walk they had to pass by a number of sentries, of which, even at that period, there were several stationed within the small tower. The soldiers on duty presented their arms to the municipal officers and commanders of the legions; but, when the king approached them, they grounded their firelocks, or clubbed them ludicrously.

One of the soldiers within wrote one day on

the king's chamber-door, and that too on the inside, "The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis XVI." The king read the words, which I made an attempt to rub out, but his majesty prevented me.

One of the door-keepers of the tower, whose name was Rocher, a man of a horrid figure, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt, to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the king wanted to go out, but did not open it till his majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many he had, which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the royal family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and, fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the royal family as they went out, and most at the queen and princesses. Some national guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language. Some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, of itself sufficiently narrow.

While the family were walking, the engineers

assembled to dance and sing: their songs were always revolutionary, sometimes also obscene.

Thus was the short airing allowed to the family turned into torture. This the king and queen might have avoided by remaining within; but the air was necessary for their children, whom they most tenderly loved; and for their sakes it was that their majesties daily endured, without complaining, these endless affronts.

A few instances, however, of fidelity or feeling, occurred at times to soften the horror of these persecutions, and were the more striking from being uncommon.

As I was sitting alone reading in the antichamber next the queen's room, the sentinel on guard at her door, an inhabitant of the suburbs, dressed neatly, but in plain country clothes, eyed me with much attention, and appeared greatly moved. I got up to pass by him, on which he presented his arms, and, with a trembling voice, said, "You must not go out."—"Why not?"—"I am ordered to keep you in sight."—"You are mistaken," said I.—"What! sir, are you not the king?"—"Don't you know him then?"—"I never saw him in my life, sir; and wish, with all my heart, I could see him any where rather than here."—"Speak low: I am going into that room, and will leave the door a-jar, that you may see the king: he is sitting near the window, with a book in his hand." I made the sentinel's wish

known to the queen: and the king, on her informing him of it, had the goodness to walk from one room to the other, that he might have a view of him. When I went back, " Ah, sir!" said he, " how good is the king! how fond of his children!" He had seen him through the door caressing them, and was so affected as to be hardly able to speak. " No," continued he, striking his breast, " I can never believe he has done us so much harm." I here left him, fearing that his extreme agitation would betray him.

Another sentinel at the end of the walk, who was very young, and of an interesting figure, shewed by his looks a desire to give the royal family some intelligence. Madame Elizabeth, in taking the second turn, went up to him, that he might have an opportunity of speaking; but, whether through fear or respect, he did not attempt it. His eyes, however, were full of tears, and he made a sign that he had lodged a paper in the rubbish, near the place where he was standing. I went and looked for it, pretending to pick out stones for the prince to play with at coits, but the municipal officers coming up made me retire, and forbade me ever again going so near the sentinels. I never knew what were the intentions of this young man.

During the hour allowed for walking, another kind of sight was presented to the family, that often awakened their sensibility. Many of their

faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their king and queen, and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. I once thought I could distinguish the marchioness de Tourzel, and I was the more convinced of it from the extreme attention with which the person followed the dauphin with her eyes, when he ran to any distance from their majesties. I made the observation to madame Elizabeth, who could not refrain from tears at the name of madame de Tourzel, believing her to be one of the victims of the 2d of September.—"What!" said she, "can she be still alive?" The next day, however, I found means to get information that the marchioness de Tourzel was at one of her estates in the country.

I found also that the princess de Tarente and the marchioness de la Roche-Aimont, who were at the palace of the Thuileries when it was attacked on the 10th of August, had escaped the assassins. The safety of these ladies, who on so many occasions had manifested their attachment, afforded the royal family some moments of consolation; but they very soon after heard the horrid news of the prisoners from the high court of Orleans having been massacred on the 9th of September at Versailles. The king was overwhelmed with

sorrow at the unfortunate fate of the duke de Brissac, who had never forsaken him a single day from the beginning of the revolution. His majesty also grieved exceedingly for M. de Lessart, and the other interesting victims of their attachment to his person and their country.

On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one Lubin, a municipal officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. Lubin's voice was of the Stentorian kind. The royal family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of royalty, and of the establishment of a republic. Hébert, so well known by the name of Père du Chesne, and Destournelles, since made minister of the public contributions, were then on guard over the family: they were sitting at the time near the door, and stared the king in the face with a malicious grin. The monarch perceived it; but, having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear upon his countenance. The queen displayed equal resolution; not a word, not a gesture, escaped either of them to increase the malignant enjoyment of those men. At the end of the proclamation the trumpets sounded again, and I went to one of the windows: the eyes of the populace were imme-

diately turned upon me; I was taken for my royal master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The horsemen made menacing signs with their sabres; and I was obliged to withdraw, to put an end to the tumult.

CHAP. X.

Separation of the King from his Family.—Plans adopted for gaining Intelligence at the Temple.—Arrest of M. Cléry.

ON the 26th of September I learnt, through a member of the municipality, that it was intended to separate the king from his family, and that the apartment preparing for him in the great tower would soon be ready. I broke this new tyranny to the king in the most wary manner possible, and expressed how much I had felt at being forced to afflict him. "You cannot," said his majesty, "give me a greater proof of your attachment; I require it of your affection that you should hide nothing from me; I expect all that can happen: endeavour to gain intelligence of the day when this painful separation is to take place, and let me know it."

On the 29th of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, five or six municipal officers walked into the queen's chamber, where the royal family were assembled. One of them, whose name was Charbonnier, read to the king a decree of the council, ordering that "Paper, pens, ink, pencils, knives, and even papers written upon,

whether found on the persons of the prisoners, or in their rooms, or on the valet-de-chambre, or others serving in the tower, should be taken away." "And whenever," added he from himself, "you may want any thing, Cléry may go down and write what you require in a register that will be kept in the council-chamber." The king and the whole family gave up their papers, pencils, and the contents of their pockets, without making a reply. The commissioners then searched the rooms and closets, and took away the things pointed out by the decree. I now learnt, from a member of this deputation, that on that very night the king was to be removed to the great tower; and I found means of informing his majesty of it by madame Elizabeth.

In fact, after supper, as the king was leaving the queen's chamber to go up to his own, a municipal officer bade him stop, the council having something to communicate to him. A quarter of an hour afterwards the six officers, who in the morning had taken away the papers, came in and read a second decree of the commune to the king, ordering his removal to the great tower. Although prepared for this event, he was again affected in the most lively manner: his disconsolate family endeavoured to read in the looks of the commissioners how far their designs were intended to be carried. The king left them in the most cruel state of alarm at bidding him adieu;

and this separation, which portended so many other calamities, was the most cruel suffering their majesties had hitherto experienced in the Temple. I attended the king to his new prison.

The king's apartment in the great tower was not finished. A solitary bed was its only furniture. The painters and paper-hangers were still at work in it, which left an insufferable smell, and I feared it would have incommoded his majesty. The room intended for me was at a very great distance from the king's. I begged most earnestly to be placed near him, and passed the first night in a chair by his bed-side. The next day the king prevailed, though with much difficulty, to get me a chamber contiguous to his own.

After his majesty had risen, I wanted to go to the small tower to dress the prince, but the municipal officers objected. One of them, whose name was Véron, said to me, "You are to have no more communication with the prisoners, nor is your master either; he is not even to see his children again."

At nine o'clock the king desired to be shewn to his family. "We have no such orders," said the commissioners. His majesty made some observations, to which they gave no answer.

Half an hour afterwards two municipal officers came in, followed by a servant-boy, who brought the king a roll, and a small decanter of lemonade,

for his breakfast. His majesty expressed his desire to dine with his family. They answered, that they would apply to the commune for orders. "But," added the king, "let my valet-de-chambre go down: he has the care of my son, and there can be no reason to prevent his continuing to attend upon him."—"That does not depend upon us," said the commissioners, and went away.

I was then in a corner of a chamber, overwhelmed with grief, and absorbed in the most heart-rending reflections on the lot of this august family. On one hand I saw before me the pangs of my royal master; and on the other I represented to myself the young prince delivered over, perhaps, to strange hands; for it had already been said that he was to be taken from their majesties: and what fresh tortures would not such a separation occasion to the queen? I was engrossed with these painful ideas when the king came up to me with the roll that had been brought him in his hand: he presented half of it to me, saying,—"It seems they have forgotten your breakfast; take this: the remainder is enough for me." I excused myself, but he insisted upon it. It was impossible for me to restrain my tears: the king perceived it, and gave way to his own.

At ten o'clock, some other members of the mu-

nicipality brought the workmen to continue their employment in the room. One of these officers told the king that he had just been present while the family were at breakfast, and that they were very well. "I thank you," replied the king; "pray remember me to them, and say that I too am well. May I not," added he, "have some books which I left in the queen's chamber? I would thank you for them, as I have nothing to read." His majesty described the books he wanted, and the officer complied with his request; but, not being able to read, he desired I would go with him. I congratulated myself on this man's ignorance, and blessed providence for this consolatory moment. The king gave me some orders, and his looks spoke the rest.

I found the queen in her chamber, with her children and madame Elizabeth about her. They were all weeping, and their grief increased on seeing me. They immediately asked me a thousand questions about the king, which I was forced to answer with reserve. The queen, addressing the officers who had accompanied me, again urged her request of being permitted to see the king, if it were but for a few moments in the day, and at their meals. It was no longer weeping and sighing; it was the loud cry of sorrow. "Well then, they *shall* dine together to-day," said one of the officers; "but, as we must be ruled by the

decrees of the commune, we will act to-morrow according as they shall prescribe."—To this his associates consented.

At the very idea of being again with the king, a sensation, almost amounting to joy, seemed to reanimate this unfortunate family. The queen, folding her children in her arms, and madame Elizabeth, raising her hands to heaven, thanked God for the unlooked-for happiness. It was a most affecting sight, and even some of the municipal officers could not refrain from tears. They were the only tears I ever saw shed by any of them in this horrid abode.

I then took the books which the king had desired to have, and carried them to him; the municipal officers accompanying me, to let his majesty know that he should be allowed to see his family. I then asked them if I might go and wait upon the queen, the dauphin and princesses, to which they consented: and I thus had an opportunity of informing her majesty of what had passed, and all that the king had suffered since he left her.

The dinner was served up in the king's room, whither the family repaired; and it was easy to judge of the fears that had agitated their minds by the emotions that burst forth on this meeting. Nothing more was heard of the decree of the commune, and his majesty continued not only to

meet his family at meals, but to join them in their walks *.

After dinner the queen was shewn the apartment preparing for her above the king's: she intreated the workmen to finish it quickly, but they were three weeks longer at work upon it.

In that interval I continued my attendance on their majesties, and also on the dauphin and the princesses: they spent their time much in the same way as before. The king's attention to the education of his son met with no interruption; but the royal family's residing thus in two separate towers, by rendering the superintendance of the municipal officers more difficult, rendered them also more vigilant. The number of the municipal officers was augmented; and their jealousy left me very few means of getting intelligence of what was passing abroad. The following were the methods I took for that purpose.—

Under pretence of having linen and other necessary articles brought me, I obtained permission

* In the evening, when the dauphin went to bed, the queen or her sister went with him, and the other supped with Madame Royale in the king's apartment. In the morning, after breakfast, the princesses remained there, while Cléry combed their hair, as he could no longer come to the queen's apartment, and thus they gained a few moments' longer stay with the king. Every day at noon they all walked in the garden.—*Private Memoirs.*

that my wife should come to the Temple once a week. She was always accompanied by one of her friends,—a lady who passed for her relation. Nobody could evince greater attachment for the royal family than did this lady by her actions, and by the risk she ran on several occasions. On their arrival I was called down to the council-chamber, where, however, I could speak to them only in the presence of the municipal officers: we were closely watched, and at several of the first visits I could not find an opportunity to my purpose. I then gave them to understand that they should come at one o'clock: that was the hour of walking, during which the greater part of the municipal officers were following the royal family: there used then to be but one of them remaining in the council-chamber, and, when this happened to be a civil man, he left us a little more at liberty; still, however, without losing sight of us.

Having thus an opportunity of speaking without being overheard, I made inquiries respecting those for whom the royal family interested themselves, and gained information of what was passing at the convention. The circumstance of the newsman, whom I have mentioned, proved to be a project of my wife's, who had employed him to come every day under the walls of the Temple, and cry repeatedly the contents of the journals.

In addition to my intelligence thus obtained, I contrived to procure a little more from some

of the officers themselves, and I was particularly assisted by a person of great fidelity, whose name was Turgi, a groom of the king's kitchen, who, from attachment to his majesty, had found means of getting himself employed at the Temple, with two of his comrades, Marchand and Chrétien. These brought the dishes for the table of the royal family, dressed in a kitchen at a considerable distance; and were also employed in marketing; so that Turgi, who shared that office with them, going out of the Temple in his turn, twice or thrice a week, had it in his power to gain information of what was passing. The difficulty was how I should be made acquainted with it; for he was forbidden to speak to me except upon his business, and that always in presence of the municipal officers. When he had any thing to say, he made me a sign agreed upon, and I then strove to detain him under various pretences. Sometimes I begged him to dress my hair, during which madame Elizabeth, who knew of my understanding with Turgi, kept the municipal officers talking, so that I had time enough for our conversations: sometimes I contrived an opportunity of his going to my chamber, of which he availed himself, to put the journals, memorials, and other publications he had for me, under my bed.

Still fresh obstacles were to be surmounted before I could impart the intelligence to the king. The only time I had to speak to him was when

they were relieving the municipal officers, and as he went to bed. Sometimes I caught a moment in the morning, before the commissioners were ready to make their appearance. I shewed no inclination to go in till they did, only so as to let them know that his majesty was waiting for me. If they allowed me to go in, I immediately drew his curtains; and, while I put on his stockings and shoes, spoke without being seen or heard: but I was more frequently disappointed in my hope, for the municipal officers generally compelled me to stay till they were dressed, that they might go with me into his majesty's room. Several of them treated me with harshness: some ordered me in the morning to remove their beds, and forced me at night to bring them back; others were incessantly taunting me: but this conduct afforded me fresh means of being useful to their majesties. By returning only mildness and civility, I gained upon them in spite of their natures, and infusing a confidence into their minds, unperceived by themselves, I often managed to collect even from *them* the information I wanted.

Such was the plan I had been pursuing with the greatest caution from my arrival at the Temple, when an event as extraordinary as unexpected made me fear that I should be for ever separated from the royal family.

One evening, about six o'clock, (it was the 5th of October,) after having seen the queen to her

apartment, I was returning to the king's with two municipal officers, when the sentinel at the great guard-house door, taking me by the arm, and calling me by my name, asked me how I did, and said, with an air of mystery, that he wished very much to speak to me. "Sir," cried I, "speak out; I am not allowed to whisper with any body."—"I was assured," replied the sentinel, "that the king had lately been thrown into a dungeon, and you with him."—"You see it is not so," said I, and left him. There was one officer walking before and another behind me: the former stopped and heard us.

Next morning two commissioners waited for me at the door of the queen's apartment: they conducted me to the council-chamber, where I was examined by the municipal officers there assembled. I reported the conversation exactly as it had passed, which was confirmed by the officer who had heard it; the other alleged that the sentinel had given me a paper, that he had heard the rumpling of it, and that it was a letter for the king, I denied the fact; desiring they would search me, and take all means of satisfying themselves. A minute of the sitting of the council was drawn up: I was confronted with the sentinel, who was sentenced to be confined for four-and-twenty hours.

I supposed this affair at an end, when, on the 26th of October, while the royal family were at

dinner, a municipal officer walked in, followed by six soldiers with drawn sabres, together with a clerk of the rolls, and a tipstaff, both in their official dress. I was terrified lest they should be come for the king. The royal family all rose, and the king asked what they wanted with him; but the officer, without replying, called me into another room: the soldiers followed us, and, the clerk having read a warrant to arrest me, I was seized, in order to be taken before the tribunal. I begged permission to inform the king of it, and was answered that I was no longer at liberty to speak to him.—"But you may take a shirt," added the officer; "it won't be a long business." I thought I understood him, and took only my hat. I passed by the king and the royal family, who were standing, and in consternation at the manner in which I was taken away. The populace assembled in the Temple-court heaped abuse upon me, calling out for my head. They were told by one of the national guards that it was necessary to save my life, in order to discover secrets which I alone knew. The same vociferations, however, continued all the way.

The moment we arrived at the Palais de Justice, I was confined alone; there I remained six hours, endeavouring in vain to find out what could be the motives for my being arrested. All I could bring to my mind was, that on the morning of the 10th of August, during the attack on the

Thuileries, some persons who were there, and wished to make their way out, begged me to hide several valuable articles and papers, that might have betrayed them, in a chest of drawers that belonged to me: I suspected that these papers had been seized, and would now, perhaps, cost me my life.

At eight o'clock I appeared before the judges, who were unknown to me. This was a revolutionary tribunal, erected on the 17th of August, in order to select, among those who had escaped the fury of the populace, such as were doomed to die. How was I amazed, when I saw, among the prisoners to be tried, the very young man who was suspected of having given me a letter three weeks before, and when I found my accuser to be the municipal officer who had already impeached me before a council at the Temple! I was examined, witnesses were produced, and the municipal officer repeated his accusation. I told him he was unworthy of being a magistrate of the people; that, as he had heard the rumpling of the paper, and thought I had received a letter, he should immediately have had me searched, instead of staying eighteen hours before he lodged any information whatever. The arguments being concluded, the jury consulted together, and on their verdict we were acquitted. The president charged four municipal officers, who were present at my acquittal, to conduct me back to the

Temple. It was twelve o'clock at night, and we arrived just as the king was gone to bed, to whom I was permitted to make my return known. The royal family had been very much concerned at my fate, not doubting but that I had already been condemned.

CHAP. XI.

Removal of the Royal Family.—Manuel's Visit to the King.—The Journals prohibited.—The King visited by a Deputation from the National Convention.—The Royal Family attacked with Cold and Fever.—Interesting Traits in the Character of the Dauphin.

THE queen now took possession of the apartment that was prepared for her in the great tower; but even this longed-for day, that seemed to promise their majesties some comfort, was distinguished, on the part of the municipal officers, by a fresh mark of their animosity against the queen. From the hour of her being brought to the Temple they had seen her devoting her life to the care of her son, and in his gratitude and caresses finding some alleviation to her wretchedness: they took him from her, and that without any previous notice. Her affliction was extreme. The young prince, however, was placed with the king, and the care of him given to me. How pathetically did the queen charge me to be watchful over his life!

The great tower, to which the royal family was now removed, is about a hundred and fifty feet high, and consists of four stories arched, and

supported in the middle by a great pillar from the bottom to the top. The area within the walls was about thirty feet square.

The second and third stories allotted to the royal family being, as were all the other stories, single rooms, they were now each divided into four chambers by partitions of board. The ground floor was for the use of the municipal officers; the first story was kept as a guard-room; the king was lodged in the second, and the queen and princesses in the third. The fourth story was unoccupied.

At night, after bed-time, the municipal officers ranged their beds in the antichamber in such a manner as to block up his majesty's door. They also locked one of the doors in my room, by which I could have gone into the king's, and took away the key, so that, if his majesty happened to call me in the night, I was forced to pass through the antichamber, bear their ill humour, and wait till they chose to get up.

On the 7th of October, at six o'clock at night, I was summoned to the council-chamber, where I found a score of municipal officers, with Manuel as president, who, from being solicitor to the commune, was become a member of the national convention: the sight of him surprised and alarmed me. I was directed to remove, that very night, the orders still worn by the king, such as those of St. Louis and the Golden Fleece: his majesty

no longer wore that of the Holy Ghost, which had been suppressed by the first assembly.

I represented that I could not do it, and that it was not my part to make the decrees of the council known to the king. I hoped by this to gain time to break it to his majesty; and I perceived besides, by their embarrassment, that they were then acting without the authority of any decree either of the convention or the commune. The commissioners were unwilling to go up to the king, till Manuel determined them by offering to go with them. The king was sitting, and engaged in reading. Manuel spoke first, and the conversation which followed was as remarkable for the indecent familiarity of the deputy as for the temper and serenity of the monarch.

"How do you find yourself?" said Manuel; "have you every thing you want?"—"I content myself with what I have," replied his majesty.—"No doubt you have heard of the victories gained by our armies, of the taking of Spires, of Nice, and of the conquest of Savoy?"—"I heard it mentioned some days ago, by one of those gentlemen, who was reading the Evening Journal."—"What! don't you get the journals, that are become so interesting?"—"I never receive any of them."—"Oh! sirs," said Manuel, turning to the municipal officers, and pointing to the king, "you must let *the gentleman* have the journals; it is right he should be informed of our successes."

—Then, again addressing his majesty—"Democratic principles are spreading: you know that the people have abolished royalty, and adopted the republican form of government."—"I have heard it, and I pray to God that the French people may be as happy as I have always wished to make them."—"You know too that the national assembly has suppressed all *orders of chivalry:* you ought to have been told to leave off the ornaments of them: returned to the class of other citizens, you must expect to be treated like others; with this exception, ask for whatever you want, it shall be immediately procured for you."—"I thank you," said the king, "I want nothing."—His majesty here returned to his book; and Manuel, who had been endeavouring to discover vexation, or provoke impatience in him, had the mortification of finding only a noble resignation, and an unalterable composure*.

The deputation now withdrew, and one of the

* The daily papers were restored to the royal family, that they might know of the departure of the foreign armies, and see the execrations against the king, of which the papers were full. One day they said to the princesses, "Ladies, we have good news to tell you; many emigrant traitors have been taken, and if you are good patriots you will rejoice." The queen, as usual, said nothing, and had even the air of not having heard them. Many times her calm disdain and dignified expression imposed respect; it was rarely that they dared to address themselves to her.—*Private Memoirs.*

officers desired me to follow him to the council-chamber, where I was again ordered to take the ornaments from the king's person. Manuel added, "You will do well to send the crosses and ribbons to the convention. I must also inform you," continued he, "that Louis's confinement may last a long while, and that, if it be not your intention to remain here, you had better take this opportunity of declaring it. It is also in contemplation, in order to render the superintendence more easy, to decrease the number of people employed in the tower: if you stay with the late king, you will be left entirely by yourself, and you must expect hard work: wood and water will be brought you once a week, but it will be your business to clean the rooms, and do the rest of the work." I replied, that, being determined never to forsake my master, I would submit to every thing. I was conducted back to his majesty's chamber, who said to me, "You heard what passed with those gentlemen; I would have you to-night take off the orders from my coats."

The next morning, when I was dressing the king, I told him that I had locked up the crosses and ribbons, although Manuel had given me to understand that it would be proper to send them to the convention. "You have done right," replied his majesty.

On the 9th of October a journal of the debates of the convention was brought to the king; but

some days after a municipal officer, whose name was Michel, a perfumer, obtained a decree, again prohibiting the admission of the public papers into the tower. He sent for me to the council-chamber, and asked me by what authority I had ordered the journals to be addressed to me. In reality, without my knowing any thing of it, four journals had every day been brought, with this direction printed: *To the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI., at the tower of the Temple.* I could not find out, and am still ignorant, who paid the subscription for them. Michel, however, wanted to force me to tell who they were, and made me write to the editors of the journals for information; but their answers, if they sent any, were never communicated to me.

This prohibition, however, of the journals being admitted into the tower, had its exceptions when those prints furnished opportunities of new insults. If they contained abusive expressions against the king or queen, atrocious threats or infamous calumnies, some municipal officer or other was sure, with studied malice, to place them on the chimney-piece, or on the chest of drawers in his majesty's chamber, that they might fall into his hands.

He once read in one of those papers the petition of an engineer for the head of the tyrant Louis XVI., that he might load his piece with it, and shoot it at the enemy. Another journal, speak-

ing of madame Elizabeth, and endeavouring to destroy the admiration she had excited in the public by the noble manner in which she had devoted herself to the king and queen, asserted that virtuous princess to have had a child by a bishop; adding, that this young wolf ought to be smothered, with the two others in the tower, meaning the dauphin and Madame Royale.

These articles affected the king only for the sake of the people. "How very unfortunate are the French," said he, "to suffer themselves to be imposed upon in this manner!" If I saw these journals first, I took care to remove them out of his majesty's way; but they were frequently carried when I was employed elsewhere, so that very few of the articles written for the purpose of abusing the royal family, whether to excite the populace to regicide, or to prepare the minds of the people to suffer its being perpetrated, but what were read by the king. They only who remember the insolent writings that were published at that time can have an idea of this kind of unprecedented torture.

The influence of these sanguinary writings was also observable in the conduct of such of the municipal officers as had not before shewn themselves so hard-hearted or distrustful as others.

The most rigorous scrutiny possible was still continued, which rendered communications extremely dangerous. One day, after dinner, having

just written an account of expenses in the council-chamber, and locked it up in a desk of which they had given me the key, my back was scarcely turned, when Marinot, a municipal officer, said to his colleagues, though he was not on duty, that they ought to open the desk, and examine its contents, to ascertain whether or not I had a correspondence with the enemies of the people. "I know him well," added he, "and am sure he receives letters for the king." Then, accusing his colleagues of remissness, abused them violently, threatened to impeach them all before the council of the commune as accomplices, and went out to put his threat into execution. A minute was immediately drawn up of all the papers in the desk, and sent to the commune, where Marinot had already laid his information.

Another day, on seeing a draught-board, which, with the permission of his colleagues, I had sent to be mended, brought back, he pretended it might contain a correspondence, had it entirely taken to pieces, and, when he found nothing, made the workmen paste it together again before him. A young man named Toulan, who attempted to discharge a commission for the queen, was afterwards involved in her majesty's trial, and put to death.

Their majesties, for three months that they had now been shut up in the tower, had been accustomed to the sight only of municipal officers,

when, on the 1st of November, a deputation from the national convention was announced to them. This deputation consisted of Drouet, the post-master at Varennes; Chabot, formerly a capuchin; Dubois-Crancé; Duprat; and two others, whose names I do not recollect. The royal family, and particularly the queen, shuddered with horror at the sight of Drouet, who insolently seated himself by her: Chabot, following his example, also took a chair. They asked the king how he was treated, and if he was supplied with necessaries. "I complain of nothing," replied his majesty, "and only request that the committee will supply my valet-de-chambre with 2000 livres, or leave it with the council to defray the small current expenses; and that we may have some linen and other clothes, of which we are in the greatest need." The deputies promised it should be attended to, but nothing was sent.

Some days after, the king caught a great cold in his head; on which I requested that M. Dubois, his majesty's dentist, might be sent for. It was debated for three days, and at last refused. A fever coming on, his majesty was permitted to consult M. le Monnier, his chief physician. It would be difficult to paint the grief of this venerable old man when he saw his master.

The queen and her children never left the king during the day, waited upon him with me, and often assisted me to make his bed. At night, I

sat up alone with his majesty. M. le Monnier came twice a day, accompanied by a great number of municipal officers: he was searched, and not permitted to speak but in a loud voice. Once, when the king had taken medicine, M. le Monnier begged to stay some hours with him. As he continued standing, while the municipal officers were sitting with their hats on, his majesty asked him to take a chair, which he refused through respect, at which the commissioners loudly murmured. The king continued ill ten days.

Soon after, the young prince, who slept in his majesty's chamber, and whom the officers would not consent to have removed to the queen's, caught a cold, which was attended with fever. The queen was the more anxious about it, as she could not obtain permission, although she used the most fervent entreaties, to be all night with her son. During the time she was allowed to be with him she attended him with the most affectionate care. The queen afterwards caught the same disorder, and so did Madame Royale and madame Elizabeth. M. le Monnier was suffered to continue his visits.

I fell ill in my turn. My room was damp, and without a fire-place; and the little air I breathed in it was confined by the slanting skreen at the window. I was attacked with a rheumatic fever and great pain in the side, that forced me to keep my bed. I got up the first morning to wait upon

the king; but his majesty, seeing the state I was in, would not suffer it, but ordered me to go to bed, and dressed the dauphin himself.

During the first day the dauphin scarcely ever left me; he brought me all that I drank. At night, the king took an opportunity, when he was least observed, to come into my room: he made me take a glass of cooling liquor, and said to me, with a kindness that brought tears into my eyes, "I wish I could attend you myself, but you know how we are watched: keep up your spirits; to-morrow you will see my physician." At supper-time, the royal family came into my room; and madame Elizabeth, unperceived by the municipal officers, gave me a small bottle of linctus. Though she had a violent cold, she deprived herself of the medicine to give it to me: I wished to have declined it, but she insisted upon my taking it. After supper, the queen undressed the prince and put him to bed, and madame Elizabeth rolled the king's hair.

The next morning, M. le Monnier ordered me to be blooded; but the consent of the commune was necessary for the admission of a surgeon. They talked of removing me to the palace in the Temple: but fearing I should never be permitted to return to the tower, if once I went out of it, I excused myself from the bleeding, and even pretended to be better. At night we had new municipal officers, and nothing more was said about removing me.

Turgi asked if he might sit up with me at night, which he and his two comrades were allowed to do, and they took it in turn. I was six days confined to my bed, and the royal family came to see me every day. Madame Elizabeth often brought me medicines which she ordered as for herself. So many kind attentions greatly recruited my strength; and, instead of feeling pain, I had very soon only to feel gratitude and admiration. Who but would have been affected at seeing this august family in a manner suspending the remembrance of their own protracted miseries, to attend the sick bed of one of their servants!

Here I must not forget to relate an action of the dauphin's, which proves how great was the goodness of his heart, and how he profited by the example of virtue which he had continually before his eyes.

One evening, after putting him to bed, I withdrew to give place for the queen and princesses, who went to kiss him, and wish him good night in his bed. Madame Elizabeth, who had been prevented from speaking to me by the watchfulness of the municipal officers, took that time to put into his hand a little box of ipecacuanha lozenges, desiring him to give it to me when I came back. The queen and princesses went up to their apartments: the king retired to his closet, and I took my supper. It was eleven o'clock before I went back to the king's chamber to turn down his majesty's bed: I was

alone, and the prince called me in a low voice. I was much surprised to find him awake, and, fearing he was ill, asked what was the matter. "Nothing," said he, "only my aunt left me a little box for you, and I would not go to sleep before I gave it you. I am glad you are come, for my eyes have been already shut several times." The tears came into mine: he perceived it, and kissed me, and in two minutes was fast asleep.

To this sensibility the prince added a great many attractions, and all the amiable qualities of his age. He would often, by his arch simplicity, the liveliness of his disposition, and his little frolics, make his august parents forget their mournful situation. Yet he felt it himself: he knew, young as he was, that he was in a prison, and that he was watched by enemies. His words and actions had assumed that circumspection which instinct prompts perhaps at every age under circumstances of danger. I never heard him speak either of the Thuileries, or of Versailles, or of any object that could recall to the king or queen a painful recollection. If he saw a municipal officer more civil than his colleagues coming, away he ran to the queen in haste to tell her of it, saying, with his countenance full of satisfaction,—"Mamma, it is Mr. Such-a-one to-day."

One day he kept his eyes fixed upon a municipal officer, whom he said he recollected: the

man asked him where he had seen him, but the prince refused to answer; then, leaning over to the queen, "It was," said he to her in a low voice, "in our journey to Varennes."

The following anecdote affords another proof of his sensibility. There was a stone-cutter employed in making holes at the antichamber-door to admit enormous bolts. The prince, while the man was eating his breakfast, played with his tools: the king took the mallet and chisel out of his son's hands, and shewed him how to handle them. He used them for some minutes. The workman, moved at seeing the king so employed, said to his majesty, "When you go out of this tower, you will be able to say that you had worked yourself at your own prison."—"Ah!" replied the king, "when and how shall I go out?"—The dauphin burst into tears; and the king, letting fall the mallet and chisel, returned to his room, where he walked about hastily, and in great agitation.

CHAP. XII.

New provisionary Municipality.—New and harsh Measures relative to the Royal Family.—Intelligence of the King's approaching Trial brought to the Temple.—The King goes to the Bar of the National Convention, and on his Return is separated from his Family.

ON the 2d of December, the municipality of the 10th of August was superseded by another, with the title of provisionary municipality. Many of the former municipal officers were re-elected. I at first supposed that this new body might be of a better composition than the former, and I hoped some favourable changes in the regulation of the prison; but I was disappointed. Several of the new officers gave me reason to regret their predecessors: they were still coarser in their manners; but I found it easy, from their way of talking, to make myself acquainted with whatever they knew. I had to study the members of this new municipality, in order to judge of their conduct and disposition: the former ones were more insolent; the malice of the latter was more systematic and refined.

Till this period the king had been attended

only by one municipal officer, and the queen by another. The new municipality ordered that there should be two to each, and thenceforward I found it more difficult to speak with the king and the royal family. On the other hand, the council, which had hitherto been held in one of the halls in the palace of the Temple, was removed to a chamber on the ground floor of the tower. The new municipal officers were desirous of surpassing the former in zeal, and this zeal was an emulation of tyranny.

On the 7th of December, an officer at the head of a deputation of the commune came to the king, and read a decree, ordering that the persons in confinement should be deprived of "knives, razors, scissors, and all other sharp instruments, which are usually taken from criminals; and that the strictest search should be made for the same, as well on their persons as in their apartments." In reading this his voice faltered: it was easy to perceive the violence he did to his feelings, and he has since shewn by his conduct that he had consented to come to the Temple only in the hope of being useful to the royal family.

The king took out of his pockets a knife and a small Morocco pocket-book, from which he gave the penknife and scissors. The officers searched every corner of the apartment, and carried off the razors, the curling-irons, the powder-scraper, instruments for the teeth, and other articles of

gold and silver. The same search was made in my room, and I was ordered to empty my pockets.

They then went up to the queen, read the decree over again to her and the princesses, and deprived them even of the little articles they used in working.

In an hour afterwards I was summoned to the council-chamber, where I was asked if I did not know what were the articles that remained in the pocket-book which the king had returned into his pocket. "I order you," said a municipal officer, named Sermaize, "to take the pocket-book away this night." I replied, that it was not my business to put the decrees of the commune into execution, nor to search the king's pockets. "Cléry is in the right," said another municipal officer, addressing himself to Sermaize; "it was your business to have made the search."

A minute was made of all the articles taken from the royal family, which were put up in separate packets, and sealed. I was then commanded to sign my name to an order, by which I was enjoined to give notice to the council if I found any sharp instruments in possession of the king or royal family, or in any of their apartments. These different articles were all sent to the commune.

By examining the registers of the council of the Temple, it may be seen that I had often been

compelled to sign decrees and demands, of which I was very far from approving either the form or substance. I never did sign any thing, say any thing, or do any thing, but as specially directed by the king or queen. A refusal on my part might have separated me from their majesties, to whom I had devoted my existence; and my signature at the bottom of certain decrees only went to shew that they had been read to me.

Sermaize, the same person of whom I have been speaking, went with me to his majesty's apartment. The king was sitting at the fire, with the tongs in his hand. Sermaize desired, by authority of the council, to see what was left in the pocket-book: the king took it out of his pocket, and opened it. It contained a turn-screw, a gun-worm, and a little gun-steel. Sermaize made him give them up. The king, turning on his heel, asked if the tongs he held in his hand were not also a sharp instrument? When the municipal officer was gone down, I had an opportunity of informing his majesty of all that had passed at the council relative to this second search.

At dinner-time a dispute arose amongst the commissioners. Some were against the royal family's using knives and forks, others were for letting them have the forks, and it was at last decided that no change should be made, but that the knives and forks should be taken away after every meal.

The queen and the princesses were the more sensible of the loss of the little articles that had been taken from them, as they were in consequence forced to give up different works, which, till then, had served to divert their attention during the tedious days of a prison. Once, as madame Elizabeth was mending the king's coat, having no scissors, she bit off the thread with her teeth. "What a reverse!" said the king, looking tenderly on her; "you were in want of nothing at your pretty house of Montreuil."——"Ah! brother," replied she, "can I feel a regret of any kind, when I share your misfortunes?"

Meanwhile, every day brought new decrees, every one of which was a fresh tyranny. The rude harshness of the municipal officers towards me was more remarkable than ever. The three attendants were again forbidden to speak to me, and every thing seemed to forebode some new misfortune. The queen and madame Elizabeth felt the same presentiment, and were continually applying to me for news, which it was not in my power to give. I did not expect to see my wife in less than three days. My impatience was extreme.

At length, on Thursday, my wife came: I was called to the council-chamber. She affected to speak loud, to avoid the suspicions of our new inspectors; and, while she was giving me an account of our domestic affairs, her friend, in a

lower voice, told me that, on the succeeding Tuesday, the king was to be carried to the convention; that he was to be put upon his trial; that he was to be allowed counsel; and that all this was certain.

I was at a loss how to open this horrible news to the king, and wished first to inform the queen or madame Elizabeth of it; but I was under the greatest apprehensions: there was no time to be lost, and the king had expressly forbidden me to conceal any thing from him. At night, when I was undressing him, I told him what I had heard, and went so far as to hint that there was an intention of separating him from his family during the trial; adding, that there were but four days more to concert with the queen some mode of corresponding with her. I also assured him that there was nothing I was not resolved to undertake to assist in it. Here the appearance of the municipal officers did not permit me to say more upon the subject, and prevented his majesty from making any answer.

The next morning I could not find an opportunity of speaking to the king when he was getting up: he went with the dauphin to breakfast in the queen's apartment, where I attended him. After breakfast he continued some time conversing with the queen, who, by a look full of grief, made me understand that the intelligence I had given the king was the subject of their conversation. In

the course of the day, finding an opportunity of speaking to madame Elizabeth, I mentioned to her how much pain it had cost me to increase the sufferings of the king by informing him of the day on which he was to be brought to trial. It was much comfort to me to hear her say, that the king felt that mark of my attachment. "What afflicts him most," added she, "is the dread of being separated from us: endeavour to gain some further intelligence."

At night the king assured me that he was very glad to have been apprized that he was to appear before the convention. "Continue," said he, "to endeavour to find out what they are going to do with me, and don't be afraid of giving me pain. I have agreed with my family not to appear informed of what is passing, that you may not be suspected."

The nearer the day of the trial approached, the more was I distrusted: the municipal officers would not answer any of my questions. I had in vain been forming different pretences to go down to the council, where I might have collected fresh particulars to communicate to the king, when a commission arrived at the Temple, charged to audit the accounts of the royal family. They were under the necessity of having me present to speak to the articles of expenses; and I learnt through a municipal officer, whose dispositions were friendly, that the decree for separating the king

from his family had been passed only in the commune, and not yet in the national assembly. On the same day, Turgi brought me a newspaper containing the decree which ordained that the king should be brought to the bar of the convention: he also gave me a memorial, published by M. Necker, on the king's trial. The only means I had of communicating this newspaper and memorial to the royal family was by hiding them under a piece of furniture in the king's water-closet. Having informed the family of the circumstance, they had it in their power successively to read them. This closet was the only place into which the municipal officers did not follow them.

On the 11th of December, 1792, by five o'clock in the morning, the drum was heard beating to arms throughout Paris, and a troop of horse with cannon were marched into the garden of the Temple. This noise would have given a dreadful alarm to the royal family, had they not been apprized of the cause: they feigned, however, to be ignorant of it, and asked an explanation of the commissioners on duty, who refused to make any reply.

At nine o'clock, the king and the dauphin went up to breakfast with the queen and princesses: their majesties remained together an hour, but always in sight of the municipal officers. This constant torment which the royal family suffered in not being able to give a loose to any unrestrained

expression of their feelings, to any free effusion of their hearts, at a moment when they could not but be agitated with so many fears, was one of the most cruel refinements and dearest delights of their tyrants. They were at last obliged to part. The king left the queen, madame Elizabeth, and his daughter, and what they dared not speak their looks expressed: the dauphin came down as usual with the king.

At eleven o'clock, when the king was hearing the dauphin read, two municipal officers walked in and told his majesty that they were come to carry the young Louis to his mother. The king desired to know why he was taken away: the commissioners replied, that they were executing the orders of the council of the commune. The king tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return I assured his majesty that I had delivered the prince to the queen, which appeared to relieve his mind. One of the municipal officers came back, and informed him that Chambon, mayor of Paris, was with the council, and that he was just coming up. "What does he want with me?" said the king. The officer answered, that he did not know.

His majesty for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation; then sat down in an armed chair at the head of the bed. The door stood a-jar, but the officer did not like to go in, wishing, as he told me, to avoid questions; but,

half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the king move, and went softly in. He found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The king, on being disturbed, said, raising his voice, "What do you want with me?"—"I was afraid," answered the officer, "that you were ill." —"I am obliged to you," replied the king, in an accent replete with anguish; "but the manner in which they have taken my son from me cuts me to the heart." The municipal officer withdrew without saying a word.

The mayor did not make his appearance till one o'clock. He was accompanied by Chaumette, solicitor to the commune, Coulombeau, secretary of the rolls, several municipal officers, and Santerre, commander in chief of the national guards, attended by his aid-de-camps. The mayor told the king that he came to conduct him to the convention, by virtue of a decree, which the secretary to the commune would read to him. The import of the decree was, "that Louis Capet should be brought to the bar of the national convention."—"Capet," said the king, "is not my name: it is that of one of my ancestors." He added, "I could have wished, sir, that the commissioners had left my son with me during the two hours I have passed waiting for you: but this treatment is of a piece with the rest I have met with here for these four months. I am ready to follow you,

not in obedience to the convention, but because my enemies have the power in their hands." I gave his majesty his great coat and hat, and he followed the mayor*. A strong body of guards was waiting for him at the gate of the Temple.

* His majesty walked down to the bottom of the tower, and went into a carriage, in which the mayor placed himself by his side. On the way, the king spoke little, and not a word relative to his trial. He looked with a tranquil eye on the people as he passed. The carriage was escorted by twelve hundred men, horse and foot, with several pieces of cannon, and by thirty municipals in their scarfs. The national guard, drawn up along the streets, ordered their arms. Every window was shut. The people appeared dull and stupefied.

Early in the morning, wrapping myself up in a cloak that concealed my face, I posted myself near the gate of the Temple. There I stood, anxious to be the first, if possible, to see my unfortunate master, to follow him, and not lose sight of the carriage in which he rode. Joining the train, I walked the same pace, sometimes advancing to give a look into the carriage; sometimes keeping back, in order to hide my tears.

The king alighted in the court of the Feuillans, and was conducted to the bar of the national convention, with the mayor and the municipals who had accompanied him. Fearful of entering the body of the hall, lest my emotion should betray me, I remained in one of the lobbies, placing myself, however, in such a manner, as to lose nothing of what passed. Barrère was president!

On the king's appearing at the bar, the president addressed him in these words: "Louis, the French nation

Remaining alone in the chamber with a municipal officer, I learnt from him that the king was not to see his family again, but that the mayor had still to consult with some deputies respecting this separation. I begged to be conducted to the dauphin, who was with the queen, and this was granted me. I staid with him till about six in the evening, when the king returned from the convention. The municipal officers informed the queen of the king's departure, but without entering into any particulars. The family came down as usual to dine in his majesty's apartment, and then went up again.

After dinner there was but one municipal officer remained with the queen. He was a young man, about four-and-twenty years old, of the

impeach you. The national convention decreed, on the 3d of December, that you should be brought to their bar. The articles, containing the declaration of the crimes with which you are charged, will be read to you. You may sit."

The articles of impeachment being read, the president called upon the king to answer each charge. Having done this, his majesty asked for a copy of the articles, and a sight of the papers relative to them, and desired to have counsel appointed him. The king's demand was immediately taken into consideration; on which his majesty went out with the persons who escorted him, and waited in the conference chamber the result of the debate. It was long before the decision took place; but at length the king's demand was granted. He returned to the Temple about six o'clock in the afternoon. I followed him to the gate.—*Hue*, 428.

section of the Temple: it was the first time he had ever been upon guard at the tower; and he appeared less suspicious and less uncivil than the generality of his colleagues. The queen entered into conversation with him, and asked him questions about his situation, his family, and the like; while madame Elizabeth took the opportunity of beckoning me to follow her to another room.

Here I informed her that the commune had decreed to separate the king from his family, and that I was afraid the separation would take place that very night; for, though it was true that nothing respecting it had been done in the convention, yet the mayor was charged to make the application, and would no doubt succeed. "The queen and myself," replied she, "look for the worst, and do not deceive ourselves as to the fate preparing for the king; he will die a sacrifice to the goodness of his heart, and love for his people, for whose happiness he has never ceased to labour since he mounted the throne. How cruelly is this people deceived! As for him, his religion, and that perfect reliance he has upon Providence, will support him in this sad moment of adversity. You, Cléry," continued this virtuous princess, with tears in her eyes, "will now be the only person with my brother: redouble, if possible, your attentions to him, and omit no opportunity of giving us intelligence respecting him; but on

no other account expose yourself, for then we should have nobody on whom we could rely."—I repeated to her my assurances of devotion to the king, and we agreed upon means by which we could keep up a correspondence.

Turgi was the only person I could intrust with the secret, and to him I could speak but seldom and cautiously. It was agreed that I should continue to keep the dauphin's linen and clothes; that every other day I should send him a change, and take the opportunity to give intelligence of what was passing about the king. This plan suggested to madame Elizabeth the idea of my receiving one of her handkerchiefs, "which," said she, "you will keep when my brother is well; but, if he should be ill, you will send it among my nephew's linen." The manner of folding it was to shew the nature of the disorder.

The anguish of the princess while speaking of her brother,—her indifference as to herself,—the value which she was pleased to attach to my poor endeavours in the service of his majesty,—all deeply affected me. "Have you heard any thing respecting the queen?" said she, with a sort of terror: "Alas! of what can they accuse her?"—"Nay, madame," I replied, "of what can they accuse the king?"—"Oh! nothing; no, nothing;" she answered; "but, perhaps, they may look upon the king as a victim necessary to their safety; but surely the queen and her children would be no obstacles to their ambition!"—I took the liberty

of observing, that, no doubt, the king could only be sentenced to banishment; that I had heard it spoken of; and that, as Spain had not declared war, it was likely that he would be sent with his family into that kingdom. "I have no hope," said she, "that the king will be saved."

I thought it proper to add that the foreign powers were busy in forming plans to extricate the king from his imprisonment; that Monsieur and the count d'Artois were again assembling all the emigrants, to join the Austrian and Prussian armies; that Spain and England would take steps; and that all Europe was interested to prevent the death of the king: that the convention would therefore have to reflect seriously before they pronounced upon his majesty's fate.

This conversation lasted near an hour, when madame Elizabeth, with whom I had never spoken for so long a time, fearing the arrival of the new municipal officers, left me, in order to return to the queen's chamber. Tison and his wife, who were perpetually watching me, observed that I had been a great while with madame Elizabeth, and that it was to be feared that the commissioner had perceived it. I told them that the princess had been speaking to me about her nephew, who would probably in future remain with his mother.

I returned in a few minutes to her majesty's chamber, to whom madame Elizabeth had been communicating her conversation with me, and the means we had concerted for effecting a cor-

respondence: her majesty had the goodness to express her satisfaction.

At six o'clock the commissioners took me down to the council, where they read to me a decree of the commune, ordering that I should no longer have any communication with the queen, the princesses, or the young prince, because I was appointed to wait upon the king alone: it was even decreed at first, with a view of putting the king into some sort of close confinement, that I should not sleep in his apartments, but be lodged in the little tower, and only conducted to his majesty when he wanted me.

At half after six o'clock the king returned: he appeared fatigued, and the first thing he did was to desire to be shewn to his family *. This was

* They had been in a state of anxiety which it is impossible to describe. The queen had made every effort to prevail on the guard to inform her of what was passing. It was the first time that she had deigned to question them. These men would tell her nothing, and it was not till the arrival of the king that she knew. When he returned, she immediately requested to see him. She asked it even of Chambon, and received no reply. The dauphin passed the night in her chamber, and, as he had no bed, she gave him her's, and sat up the whole night, sunk in such deep distress, that the princesses did not wish to leave her; but she obliged them to retire to bed. The next day she again entreated to see the king; and to read the public papers, that she might see his trial. If she was not allowed to see the king, she requested that this permission might at least be granted to his son and daughter. They carried these re-

objected to, under the pretence of having no orders. He insisted that they should at least be informed of his return, which was promised him. The king then ordered me to speak for his supper at half past eight: he employed the interval of two hours in reading, as usual, but all the while surrounded by four municipal officers.

At half past eight I informed his majesty that supper was served. He asked the commissioners if his family were not coming down: they made him no answer. "But at least," said the king, "my son is to sleep in my apartment, as his bed and things are here." Still no reply. After supper the king renewed his instances to see his family, and was told that he must wait the determination of the convention. I then delivered up the dauphin's night things.

When I was undressing the king for bed, he said that he could never have conceived all the questions they had put to him; and then lay down with great tranquillity. The decree of the commune, relative to lodging me at a distance, was not put into execution: it would have been too troublesome for the municipal officers to have come for me every time the king wanted my attendance.

quests to the general council. The papers were refused, but they would allow the children to see their father, on condition that they should be wholly separated from their mother. This the king could not consent to.—*Private Memoirs.*

CHAP. XIII.

A Deputation from the National Convention announces to the King the Decree for allowing him Counsel.—The Persons appointed to that Office.—Another Deputation brings the King a Copy of his Impeachment.—Means adopted for keeping up a Communication between the King and Royal Family.

ON the morning of the 12th, the moment the king saw a municipal officer, he asked if there had been any determination respecting the request he had made to see his family; and was again answered, that they waited for orders. He then begged that officer to go and inquire how the queen, the princesses, and the dauphin were, and tell them that he was well. The commissioner returned with an account of their being in good health. The king then gave me orders to send his son's bed up to the queen's apartments, where the young prince had slept on one of her mattresses. I begged his majesty to wait the determination of the convention; to which he replied, "I expect no consideration, no justice; but let us wait."

The same day a deputation from the conven-

tion, composed of four deputies, Thuriot, Cambacérès, Dubois-Crancé, and Dupont de Bigorre, brought the decree, authorizing the king to employ counsel. He said he chose M. Target, or, if he declined it, M. Tronchet; but both of them, if the national convention would agree to it. The deputies made the king sign this demand, and countersigned it themselves. His majesty added, that he should want paper, pen, and ink. He gave M. Tronchet's address at his country house, but said he did not know where M. Target lived.

On the 13th, in the morning, the same deputation returned to the Temple, and informed the king that M. Target had declined taking his defence upon him; and that M. Tronchet had been sent for, and was expected in the course of the day. They then read to him several letters which were addressed to the convention by M. Sourdat, M. Huet, M. Guillaume, and M. de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who had been formerly first president of the court of aids in Paris, and afterwards minister of the king's household. M. de Malesherbes' letter was as follows:—

Paris, December 11*th*, 1792.

"Citizen President,

"I am yet uninformed whether the convention will allow the defence of Louis XVI. to be undertaken by counsel or not. If it be allowed, and

the choice of counsel be left to him, I request that Louis XVI. may know, that, if he thinks proper to choose me for that office, I am ready to undertake it. I do not ask you to make my offer known to the convention, for I am far from thinking myself of sufficient importance to engage their attention: but I was twice appointed a member of the council of him who was my master, at a time when that office excited a general ambition. I feel it to be my duty to offer myself as his counsel, now that that duty is thought dangerous by many. If I knew any possible mode of making my intention known to him, I should not take the liberty of applying to you. I imagine the place you fill affords you the means, more than any other person, of sending him this information.

"I am, with respect, &c.

(Signed) "L. DE MALESHERBES."

His Majesty said, "I receive with sensibility the offers of the gentlemen who desire to be my counsel, and I request you to express my acknowledgments to them. I accept that of M. de Malesherbes. If I cannot have M. Tronchet's services, I shall consult M. de Malesherbes on the choice of another."

On the 14th of December M. Tronchet had a conference with his majesty, agreeably to the decree. On the same day M. de Malesherbes was introduced into the tower. The king ran to meet this

venerable man, and pressed him affectionately to his bosom, while the old statesman melted into tears at the sight of his master—whether it was that the first happy years of that master's reign rushed upon his memory, or rather that he saw at that moment only the virtuous man struggling with adversity. As the king had permission to consult with his counsel in private, I shut his chamber-door, that he might be able to speak more freely with M. de Malesherbes; for which I was reprimanded by a municipal officer, who ordered me to open it, and forbade my shutting it in future. I opened the door, but his majesty had withdrawn to the turret-closet.

In this first conference the king and M. de Malesherbes spoke very loud: the commissioners, who were in the chamber, listened to their conversation, and could hear every thing. When M. de Malesherbes was gone, I informed his majesty of the prohibition I had received from them, and of the attention with which they had listened to the conference, begging that he would himself shut the door of his chamber when his counsel were with him; which, in future, he did.

On the 15th the king received an answer relative to his family; which was in substance, that the queen and madame Elizabeth should have no communication with the king during the trial; but that his children might be with him, if he desired it, on condition that they were not allowed

to see their mother or their aunt till his examination was concluded. The first moment I could speak to his majesty in private, I asked for his orders. "You see," said the king, "the cruel dilemma in which they have placed me. I cannot think of having my children with me: as for my daughter, she is out of the question, and I know what pain the queen would suffer in giving up my son: I must make the sacrifice." His majesty then repeated his orders for the removal of the prince's bed, which I immediately executed. I kept his linen and clothes, and sent him a change every other day, as had been agreed upon with madame Elizabeth.

On the 16th, at four in the afternoon, there came another deputation of four members of the convention, Valazé, Cochon, Grandpré, and Duprat, part of the committee of twenty-one, appointed to superintend the king's trial. They were accompanied by a secretary, a sergeant, and an officer of the guard belonging to the convention: they brought the king a copy of his impeachment, and papers relative to the proceedings against him, the greater part of which were found at the Thuileries in a secret press in his majesty's apartments, called, by Roland, *the iron press.*

The reading of these papers, to the number of one hundred and seven, lasted from four o'clock till midnight. They were all read and marked by the king, as likewise copies of them, which were

left in his hands: the king sat at a large table, with M. Tronchet by his side; the deputies sat opposite to him. After the reading of each piece, Valazé asked the king if he had any knowledge of it, and similar questions. His majesty answered yes or no, without further explanation. A second deputy gave him the papers and copies to sign, and a third offered to read them over again each time; with which his majesty always dispensed. It was the business of the fourth to call over the papers by packets and by numbers; and the secretary entered them on a register, one by one, as they were handed to the king.

His majesty interrupted the sitting to ask the deputies of the convention if they would not go to supper; to which they consented, and I served a cold fowl and some fruit in the eating-room. M. Tronchet would not take any thing, and remained alone with the king in his chamber.

A municipal officer, named Merceraut, at that time a stone-cutter, and late president of the commune of Paris, though a chairman at Versailles before the revolution, happened to be upon guard at the Temple for the first time. He had on his working clothes, which were in rags, an old worn out round hat, a leather apron, and his tri-coloured scarf. This fellow had the affectation to stretch himself out by the king in an armed chair, while his majesty was sitting on a common chair; and, with his hat on his head, *thee'd* and *thou'd* every

body who addressed any conversation to him: the members of the convention were astonished at it, and one of them, during supper, asked me several questions concerning this Merceraut, and of the manner in which the municipality treated the king. To this I was going to answer, when another commissioner told him to discontinue his questions, that it was forbidden to speak with me, and that in the council-chamber he should be made acquainted with every particular he could desire. The deputy, apprehensive of having gone too far, made no reply.

The examination was now resumed. In the number of papers presented to his majesty he took notice of the declaration which he had made on his return from Varennes, when Messrs. Tronchet, Barnave, and Duport, were appointed by the constituent assembly to receive it. This declaration had been signed by the king and the deputies. "You will admit the authenticity of this paper," said the king to M. Tronchet; "your own signature is to it."

Some of the packets contained plans for a constitution, with marginal notes written in his majesty's hand; several of which were in ink, and several in pencil. Some registers of the police were also shewn to the king, in which there were informations written and signed by his own servants: his majesty seemed much affected by this proof of ingratitude. These informers

pretended to relate occurrences that passed in the king's or queen's apartments in the palace of the Thuileries, only to give more appearance of probability to their calumnies.

After the members of the deputation had retired, the king took some refreshment, and went to bed without complaining of the fatigue he had suffered. He only asked me if his family had been kept waiting for supper: on my replying in the negative—"I should have been afraid," said he, "that the delay would have made them uneasy." He even had the goodness to find fault with me for not supping before him.

Some days after, the four members of the committee of twenty-one came again to the Temple. They read fifty-one new papers to the king, which he signed and marked as he had done the former, making in the whole one hundred and fifty-eight papers, of which copies were left with him.

From the 14th to the 26th of December, the king regularly saw his counsel, who came at five in the afternoon, and returned at nine. M. de Sèze was added to the number. Every morning M. de Malesherbes brought his majesty the newspapers, and printed opinions of the deputies respecting his trial. He arranged the business for every evening, and staid an hour or two with his majesty. The king often had the condescension to give me some of the printed opinions to read, and would afterwards ask me what I thought of

the opinion of such a one. I told his majesty I wanted words to express my indignation; "but you, sire," said I, "I wonder how you can read it all without horror."—"I see the extent of men's wickedness," replied the king, "and I did not believe there were such in existence." His majesty never went to bed till he had read these different papers, and then, in order not to involve M. de Malesherbes, he took care to burn them himself, at the stove in his closet.

I had by this time found a favourable opportunity of speaking to Turgi, and of charging him with news of the king to madame Elizabeth. Turgi apprized me, next morning, that, in giving him her napkin after dinner, she had slipt into his hand a little piece of paper, on which she had punctured with a pin her desire that I should beg the king to write her a line with his own hand. This I communicated to his majesty that same evening. As he had been furnished with paper and ink since the beginning of his trial, he wrote his sister a note, which he gave me unsealed, saying, that it contained nothing that could endanger me, and desired me to read it. In this last particular, I besought his majesty to allow me for the first time to disobey him.

The next day I gave the note to Turgi, who brought an answer in a ball of cotton, which he threw under my bed as he passed my chamber

door. His majesty saw with great pleasure that this mode of hearing from his family had succeeded; and I observed to him that it was easy to continue the correspondence. On receiving notes from his majesty, I folded them into as small a size as I could, and wound cotton about them; I then put them into the cupboard where the plates were kept for dinner: Turgi found them there, and made use of different means to return me the answers. When I gave them to the king, he always said with kindness to me, "Take care; you expose yourself too much."

The wax tapers which the commissioners sent me were tied up in packages. When I had collected a sufficient quantity of the packthread, I observed to the king that it now depended on himself to carry on the correspondence with more despatch, by conveying some of this packthread to madame Elizabeth, whose room was over mine, and the window of which was in a direct line above that of a small corridor to which my chamber opened. The princess, in the night, could tie her letters to this packthread, and let them down to the window that was under her's. A sort of skreen, something resembling a scuttle, at each window, prevented the possibility of her letters falling into the garden; and, by the same means, the princess might receive answers. A

little paper and ink, of which the queen and princesses had been deprived, might also be tied to the packthread. "The project is a good one," said his majesty, "and we will make use of it, if that which we have hitherto employed should become impracticable." It was actually practised in the sequel by the king. He used always to wait till eight o'clock at night for the purpose; I then shut the doors of my chamber and the corridor, and talked with the commissioners, or engaged them at play, to divert their attention.

It was about this time that Marchand, one of the servants in attendance, who was father of a family, and had just received his wages for two months, amounting to two hundred livres, was robbed in the Temple. The loss to him was serious. The king, who had observed his dejection, being informed of the cause, desired me to give him the two hundred livres, and to charge him at the same time not to mention it to any body, and particularly not to attempt to thank him; "for," added the king, "that would be his destruction." Marchand was sensibly touched by his majesty's bounty, but still more so by the prohibition to express his gratitude.

Since his separation from the royal family, the king had constantly refused to go down to the

garden. When it was proposed to him, his reply was, "I cannot think of going out by myself; I only found the walk agreeable by enjoying it with my family." But, though deprived of the dearest objects of his heart, and certain of the destiny that awaited himself, he suffered not a complaint nor a murmur to escape his lips. He had already forgiven his oppressors. Every day, in his reading-closet, he acquired new strength to sustain his natural fortitude; and those hours which he passed out of it were spent in the details of a life always uniform, but always adorned with numberless instances of goodness. He condescended to treat me as if I had been more than his servant. He behaved to the municipal officers who guarded him as if he had no reason to complain of them; and talked with them, as he used formerly to do with any of his subjects, about their occupations, their families, the advantages and the duties of their respective situations. They were astonished at the justness of his remarks, at the variety of his ideas, and at the method with which they were classed in his memory. His object, in these conversations, was not to divert his mind from the recollection of his sufferings; his sensibility was both active and strong, but his resignation was still superior to his misfo tunes.

On the 19th of December, at dinner, the king said to me, before three or four municipal officers,

"This day fourteen years you were up earlier than you were this morning." I immediately understood his majesty, who added, "My daughter was born that day." He then exclaimed with emotion, "And am I not to see her on her birthday?"—Some tears trickled down his cheeks, and, for a moment, there was a respectful silence.

The king sent word to Madame Royale, that he wished to know what present she chose he should make her. She desired to have an almanac like the little court calendar, which the king ordered me to get, and also the republican almanac for him, which had superseded the royal almanac. He often looked it over, and marked the names with a pencil.

The king was now soon to make his appearance at the bar of the convention. He had not been shaved since his razors had been taken away, and his beard had been very troublesome to him. He was obliged to bathe his face in cold water several times every day. He desired me to procure for myself a pair of scissors or a razor; for he did not choose to speak about it himself to the municipal officers. I took the liberty of suggesting, that, if he would appear as he was at the assembly, the people would at least see with what barbarity the council-general had acted towards him. "It does not become me," said

the king, "to take steps to excite commiseration." I applied to the municipal officers, and next day the commune resolved that his majesty's razors should be returned, but that he was not to have the liberty of using them except in the presence of two of the officers.

CHAP. XIV.

The King writes his Will.—He is again taken to the Bar of the National Convention.—His Return.—Occurrences at the Temple from the 26th of December to the 16th of January.—Taking of the Votes in the Assembly.

FOR three days before Christmas the king was more engaged than usual in writing. At this time, a design was formed of detaining him at the Feuillans for a day or two, that they might pass sentence without adjourning. I had even received orders to be ready to attend him, and to collect what he might want; but the design was given up. On Christmas-day* his majesty wrote his will†. I read and copied it, at the

* The king believed he should that day be assassinated in going to the convention.—*Private Memoirs.*

† I think it my duty here to set down this monument of his innocence and of his piety, now registered in Heaven.

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI:

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; on the 25th day of December, 1792, I, Louis XVI., king of France, having been more than four months immured with my family in the tower of the Temple, at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all

time when it was sent to the council at the

communication whatsoever, even with my family, since the 11th of this month; involved moreover in a trial, the issue of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is neither pretence nor foundation in any existing law; having God only for the witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself; do hereby declare, in his presence, my last will, and the feelings of my heart.

"I render my soul to God, its Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge it according to its own merits, but according to the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself a sacrifice to God his Father for us men, unworthy of it as we were, and I above all others.

"I die in the union of our holy mother, the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom they were confided by Jesus Christ.

"I firmly believe and acknowledge all that is contained in the creed and the commandments of God, and of the church, the sacraments and mysteries, such as the catholic church teaches, and has ever taught them. I have never pretended to render myself a judge in the different modes of explaining the dogmas that divide the church of Christ; but I have ever conformed, and ever will conform, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics of the holy catholic church have made, and shall make; according to the discipline of the church adopted from the time of Jesus Christ.

"I grieve with all my heart for such of our brethren as may be in error: but I presume not to judge them, and do not the less love them all in Christ Jesus, as we are taught

Temple. It was entirely written by the king's own hand, with a few erasures.

to do by Christian charity. I pray God to forgive me all my sins! I have endeavoured scrupulously to discover them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, I pray to God to receive the confession I have made of them to him, and especially my deep repentance for having put my name (though against my will) to instruments that may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which I have always remained from my heart sincerely attached. I pray to God to accept my firm resolution of taking the earliest opportunity, if he grant me life, to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, to confess all my sins, and receive the sacrament of penitence.

"I entreat all whom I may have offended through inadvertence (for I do not recollect having ever willingly given offence to any person), or to whom I may have given any bad example or scandal by my actions, to forgive the evil I may have done them. I entreat all charitable persons to unite their prayers with mine, that I may obtain pardon of God for my sins.

"I forgive with all my heart those who have become my enemies without my having given them any reasons for so doing; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those through a false or misconceived zeal, have done me much evil.

"I recommend to God my wife and my children, my sister and my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever: I pray God more especially to look with mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have been suffering

a long time with me; to support them by his grace, if they lose me, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife: I have never doubted her maternal tenderness. I particularly recommend it to her to make them good Christians, and to give them virtuous minds; to make them look upon the pomps of this world, if they are condemned to experience them, as a dangerous and transitory inheritance, and to turn their thoughts to the only solid and durable glory of eternity. I entreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them, should they have the misfortune to lose their own.

"I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils she suffers on my account, and whatever vexations I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured that I harbour nothing against her, should she suppose there was any thing with which she might reproach herself.

"I recommend most earnestly to my children, after their duty to God, which must always stand first, to continue united together, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all the cares and pains she takes for them; and, in memory of me, I entreat them to look upon their aunt as a second mother.

"I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune of becoming king, to reflect that he ought to devote himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment, and particularly in what relates to the misfortunes and vexations I have suffered; that he cannot promote the happiness of a nation but by reigning according to the laws; yet, at the same time, that a king cannot enforce those laws, and do the good which his heart prompts, unless he be possessed of the necessary authority; for that, otherwise, being fettered in his

operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

" I recommend to my son to take care of all who were attached to me, as far as circumstances may put it in his power; to recollect that it is a sacred debt which I have contracted with the children or relations of those who have perished for me; and, lastly, of those who are themselves unfortunate on my account.

" I know that there are several persons, formerly in my service, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and even shewn ingratitude towards me; but I forgive them (in times of tumult and effervescence we are not always masters of ourselves); and I entreat my son, if he should ever have an opportunity, that he will think only of their misfortunes.

" I wish I could here express my acknowledgments to those who have evinced a true and disinterested attachment for me: on the one hand, if I have been keenly wounded by the ingratitnde and disloyalty of people who have experienced from me nothing but bounty, either themselves, or in the persons of their relations or friends; on the other hand, I have had the consolation of seeing an attachment and concern manifested for me by many on whom I never bestowed a favour: I entreat them to accept my best thanks. In the situation in which things still remain, I should be afraid of endangering them if I were more explicit; but I recommend it particularly to my son to seek occasions of shewing his acknowledgment.

" I think, however, that I should do injustice to the sentiments of the nation, if I hesitated openly to recommend to my son M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me prompted them to shut themselves up with me in this melancholy habitation, and who looked to become the unhappy victims of that attachment. I also recommend

On the 26th of December* the king was con-

Cléry to him, with whose services, ever since he has been with me, I have had every reason to be entirely satisfied. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I entreat the gentlemen of the commune to see that my clothes, books, watch, purse, and the other small articles that were lodged with the council of the commune, be delivered to him.

"I also most freely forgive those who were guards over me for the ill treatment and constraint they thought it their duty to inflict upon me. Some there were whose souls were tender and compassionate; may their hearts enjoy that peace which should be the reward of such dispositions!

"I request M. de Malesherbes, M. Tronchet, and M. de Sèze, to receive here my best thanks for, and acknowledgments of the sense I entertain of, all the care and trouble they have taken upon themselves for me.

"I conclude by declaring before God, in whose presence I am about to appear, that my conscience does not accuse me with any of the crimes which are imputed to me.

"Written and signed by me, and a duplicate hereof made, at the tower of the Temple, on the 25th day of December, 1792.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

* It was the last day I ever saw my unfortunate master. I followed his carriage from the Temple to the Thuileries, and from the Thuileries back to the Temple. At the hall of the convention, I stood in one of the enterances, so as not to be remarked, and heard the speech delivered by M. de Sèze in behalf of the king. He concluded with these memorable words:

"Listen," said the orator; "listen, by anticipation, to the

ducted the second time to the bar of the assembly: I had taken care to have the queen apprized of it, that she might not be alarmed by the drums,

the words which History will address to posterity:—Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty-one; at the age of twenty-one he was on the throne, the pattern of morality. He carried thither no criminal weakness, no corrupt passion; he was there economical, just, and strict; he there shewed himself to be the constant friend of the people. The people wished that a disastrous tax, bearing hard upon them, might be repealed; he repealed it. He abolished servitude in his domains; he made reforms in the criminal code, to mitigate the fate of culprits. Some Frenchmen were deprived of the rights that belong to citizens; these he restored by his laws: the people demanded liberty; he gave it to them. He anticipated the desires of the people by innumerable personal sacrifices. And yet, in the name of that very people—! Citizens! I go no farther!—To History I leave the rest. Reflect upon the judgment *you* are about to pass and remember that *hers* will be the judgment of endless ages."

As soon as M. de Sèze had done speaking, the king said, —" Gentlemen, you have now heard my defence. I will not repeat what has been said to you. Speaking to you perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience does not accuse me, and that my counsel have stated nothing to you but the truth.

" I was never afraid of having my conduct publicly investigated; but my heart is torn with anguish to find myself accused, in the act of impeachment, of wishing to shed the blood of the people; and it wounds me still more to see that the disasters of the 10th of August are imputed to me.

and the movements of the troops. His majesty set out at ten o'clock in the morning, and returned at five in the evening, still in the custody of Chambon and Santerre. In the evening, just as the king got up from supper, M. de Malesherbes, M. de Sèze, and M. Tronchet, arrived: he requested them to take some refreshment, which was accepted only by M. de Sèze, to whom his majesty expressed his acknowledgments for the trouble he had taken in his speech of that day. The gentlemen then withdrew to the cabinet.

The next day, his majesty condescended to give me his defence, which had been printed, after asking the municipal officers if he might do it without impropriety. The commissioner, Vincent, a builder, who had rendered every service in his power to the royal family, undertook to convey a copy of it secretly to the queen. When the king

The repeated proofs of my love of the people, which I have at all times given, and my whole conduct, appear to me to demonstrate that I was ever ready to expose my own person to spare an effusion of their blood, and this should have saved me from such an imputation."

I cannot express the anguish I felt at these words of the king, "*Speaking to you perhaps for the last time.*" I hastened out of the hall, and burst into tears. From that day, the foreboding of my master's destruction was constantly in my mind. He was himself so convinced that it was inevitable, that he said to his counsel, on leaving the assembly, "Are you now satisfied, that, even before I was heard, my death was sworn?"—*Hue*, p. 434.

was thanking him for executing this little commission, he availed himself of the opportunity to ask his majesty for something which he might keep as having belonged to him. The king untied his cravat, and made him a present of it. Another time, he gave his gloves to one who asked them from the same motive. Even in the eyes of many who guarded him, these spoils had already become sacred.

On the 1st of January I went to the king's bed-side, and in a low voice begged his permission to present him with my most ardent wishes for the termination of his misfortunes. "I accept your good wishes," said he, in an affectionate manner, giving me one of his hands, which I kissed, and bathed with my tears. As soon as he was up, he requested a municipal officer to go and ask how his family were, and to present them with his best wishes for the new year. The municipal officers were softened at the manner in which these affecting words, as they referred to the situation of the king, were spoken. "Why," said one of them to me, when his majesty had returned to his chamber, "why does not he ask to see his family? Now that the proceedings are gone through, there could be no difficulty in the way: but he must apply to the convention." The municipal officer who had gone with the message to the queen's apartments now returned, and in-

formed his majesty that his family thanked him for his good wishes, and sent him theirs. "What a new-year's day!" said the king.

The same evening I took the liberty of remarking to him that I was almost sure of the consent of the convention, if his majesty would ask to be allowed to see his family. "In a few days," said the king, "they will not refuse me that consolation: I must wait."

The nearer the hour of pronouncing judgment approached, if the proceeding against the king can be so called, the more were my fears and anguish increased: I put a thousand questions to the municipal officers, and all their answers added to my terrors. My wife still came every week to see me, and gave me an exact account of what was passing in Paris. The public opinion appeared always favourable to the king, and even burst out loudly at the theatres François and Vaudeville. At the representation of the piece called *L'Ami des Loix* at the former, every allusion to his majesty's trial was caught and received with the most unbounded applause. At the latter, one of the characters in *La Chaste Suzanne* says to the two old men, "How can you be accusers and judges at the same time?"—The audience forced the player to repeat this passage several times over. I gave the king a copy of *L'Ami des Loix*. I often told him, and indeed had almost persuaded

myself, that the members of the convention *, divided against one another, would only sentence him to confinement or banishment. "May they," replied his majesty, "act with that moderation to my family! I have no fear but for them."

* The monster Robespierre was at this time approaching the zenith of his power, and as if to exhibit a specimen of what that plebeian patriotism is when possessed of authority, which every man is thought competent to who is capable of vociferating passionately no matter of what character, he was continually maintaining that the last tyrant of France ought immediately to be condemned, that it would be an act of national providence in the French to declare Louis XVI. a traitor to the nation and to humanity, and that he ought to be instantly executed as a great example to the world! But what tyrant ever existed equal to this wretch himself? who sacrificed without remorse all who ventured even to think differently from him, and his very friends, as soon as they had answered his purpose, so that the multiplicity of his murders awoke in all minds a suspicion and a terror which soon gave to Paris, and to all France, the air of a desert? Scarcely durst one man speak to another, lest he should advance something which, being reported, might prove the forfeit of his existence. "It must be so—It is necessary—I will have it so" were his expressions. Splendid liberty! but to such miseries that people must ever be exposed, who, thinking it impossible to produce disadvantageous changes, deliver over the high duties of government into the hands of an illiterate mob.

Robespierre was arrested in July, 1794, and finding his doom had arrived, he attempted to destroy himself by a pistol, but the ball only passed through his jaw.

Some persons gave me to understand, by means of my wife, that a considerable sum, lodged with M. Parisot, the editor of the daily paper, was at the king's disposal, concerning which I was desired to apply to him for orders, and that the sum should be paid into the hands of M. de Malesherbes, if agreeable to his majesty. I gave the king an account of it. "Thank those persons in my name," replied he: "I cannot accept their generous offers; it would endanger them." I begged him at least to speak of it to M. de Malesherbes, which he promised me to do.

The correspondence between their majesties was still kept up; and the king, being informed that madame Royale was ill, continued very uneasy for some days; till the queen, after much entreaty, obtained the attendance of M. Brunier,

His head was then wrapped in a bloody cloth, and he was conveyed in a cart to the scaffold. The horsemen who escorted him shewed him to the people with the point of their sabres; and women danced for joy before the cart, one of them crying out, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!" When preparing for death, the executioner roughly tore the dressing from his wound. He uttered a horrible cry; the wound opened, and his face presented a hideous spectacle. He perished at the age of thirty-five. The following epitaph was written for him: Passenger, lament not his fate, for, were he living, thou wouldst be dead."—Vide *Biographie Moderne,* Art. *Robespierre.*

physician of the children of France, on which his mind seemed to be relieved.

On Tuesday, the 15th of January, the day before the king was to receive judgment, his counsel came to him as usual: when M. de Sèze and M. Tronchet apprized his majesty of their absence the next day.

On Wednesday morning, the 16th, M. de Malesherbes staid a considerable time with the king, and told his majesty, as he went away, that he would come and give him an account of the votes as soon as he knew the result of them; but the sitting being prolonged at night to a very late hour, the decree was not pronounced till the morning of the 17th.

In the evening of the 16th, at six o'clock, four municipal officers entered the room, and read a decree of the commune to the king, importing, in substance, "that he should be kept in sight, night and day, by the said four municipal officers, and that two of them should stay all night by his bed-side."—The king asked if the judgment had been pronounced: one of them (Du Roure) having first seated himself in the armed chair that belonged to his majesty, who was standing, answered that he did not trouble himself about what was passing at the convention; but, however, he had heard say, that they were still voting. A few moments after, M. de Malesherbes came in, and

informed the king that the votes were not all yet taken.

At this time the chimney of a chamber, where the wood-carrier * of the Temple palace lodged, took fire. A considerable crowd got into the court. A municipal officer, in great alarm, ran in to desire M. de Malesherbes to retire immediately; he went away, after assuring the king that he would return to let him know the judgment. I then asked the municipal officer what it was that frightened him? "The Temple is set on fire," said he: "it has been done on purpose to save Capet in the tumult; but I have had the walls surrounded by a strong guard." We soon heard that the fire was extinguished, and that it had arisen from a mere accident.

* Fires in France are generally made with wood.

CHAP. XV.

The Sentence of the National Convention communicated to the King by M. de Malesherbes.—An Inventory taken of Articles in the King's Apartment.—The Executive Council announce to the King his Sentence.—The King asks a Delay of Three Days in its Execution, which is denied.—His Resignation and Firmness.

ON Thursday, January 17th, M. de Malesherbes came about nine o'clock in the morning. I ran to meet him. "All is lost," said he; "the king is condemned!" The king, who saw him coming, rose to receive him*. The minister threw himself

* M. de Malesherbes thus speaks of the interview:—I was the first to announce to him the decree of death. He was seated with his back turned to a lamp placed upon the chimney. He leaned with his elbows upon the table, his face covered with his hands. The noise I made in entering drew him from his meditation. He looked at me, and, rising, said, "For two days I have been occupied in trying to recollect if I have, in the course of my reign, merited from my subjects the slightest reproach. I swear to you, Monsieur Malesherbes, in all the sincerity of my heart, as a man who goes to appear before God, I have constantly desired the happiness of my people, and I have never formed a single wish that was contrary to it."

at his feet; his voice was stifled with sobs, and, for several moments, he could not utter a word. The king raised him, and pressed him to his bosom with warmth. M. de Malesherbes then made known to him the decree sentencing him to death. The king shewed no mark of surprise or agitation; he seemed affected only at the grief of that venerable old man, and even endeavoured to console him.

M. de Malesherbes gave his majesty an account of the result of the votes. Informers, relations, personal enemies, laity, clergy, absent members, had indiscriminately given their opinions; yet, notwithstanding this violation of all forms, those who were for death, some as a political necessity, others pretending to believe the king really guilty, amounted to a majority of five only. Several members had voted for death conditionally to be suspended. A new call of votes upon this question had been resolved; and it was to be presumed that the voices of those who were for postponing the perpetration of the regicide, joined to the suffrages against the sentence being capital,

I saw once more this unfortunate monarch. Two municipal officers were standing at his side: he was also standing and reading. One of them said to me, "Converse with him; we will not listen." I assured the king that the priest he had desired would come. He embraced me, and said, "Death does not terrify me;—I have the utmost confidence in the mercy of God!"—Vide *Private Memoirs*, Addenda.

would have formed the majority. But, at the gates of the assembly, assassins, devoted to the duke of Orleans, and to the deputies of Paris, by their cries terrified, and with their poignards menaced, whoever should refuse to become an accomplice; and thus, whether from stupefaction or indifference, the capital did not dare, or did not choose, to make a single attempt to save their king.

M. de Malesherbes was preparing to go: the king desired, and was permitted, to speak with him in private. He took him to his closet, shut the door, and remained about an hour alone with him. His majesty then conducted him to the outer door, desired he would return early in the evening, and not forsake him in his last moments.

" The grief of this good old man has deeply affected me," said the king to me, as he came back to his chamber, where I was waiting for him.

From the arrival of M. de Malesherbes I had been seized with a trembling through my whole frame: however, I got every thing ready for the king to shave. He put on the soap himself, standing up and facing me while I held his bason. Forced to stifle my feelings, I had not yet had resolution to look at the face of my unfortunate master; but my eyes now catching his accidentally, my tears ran over in spite of me. I know

not whether seeing me in that state put the king in mind of his own situation or not, but he suddenly turned very pale: at the sight my knees trembled, and my strength forsook me. The king, perceiving me ready to fall, caught me by both hands, and, pressing them warmly, said, in a gentle voice, "Come, more courage." He was observed; the depth of my affliction was manifested by my silence, of which he seemed sensible. His countenance was reanimated: he shaved himself with composure, and I then dressed him.

His majesty remained in his chamber till dinner-time, employed in reading or walking. In the evening, seeing him go towards his closet, I followed him, under pretence that he might want my attendance. "You have heard," said the king to me, "the account of the sentence pronounced against me?"—"Ah! Sire," I answered, "hope that it will be superseded; M. de Malesherbes believes that it will."—"I seek no hope," replied the king, "but I grieve exceedingly to think that Monsieur d'Orleans, my relation, should have voted for my death*: read that list." He

* When the duke of Orleans ascended the tribune, a profound silence prevailed; even the assembly itself appeared amazed. He said, "Faithful to my duty, and convinced that all those who have aimed at, or shall in future aim at sovereignty over the people, merit death, I vote for death!" A thrill of horror was felt,—a great part of the

then gave me the list of voters, which he had in his hand. "The public," I observed, "murmurs greatly: Dumourier is in Paris; it is said that he entertains favourable intentions, and that he brings with him the sentiments of his army against the proceedings on your majesty's trial. The people are shocked at the infamous conduct of Monsieur d'Orleans. It is also reported that the foreign ambassadors will meet, and go to the assembly. Indeed, it is confidently asserted that the members of the convention are afraid of a popular insurrection."—"I should be very sorry to have it take place," replied the king; "for then there would be new victims. I do not fear death," added his majesty; "but I cannot, without shuddering, contemplate the cruel lot which I leave behind me to my family, to the queen, to our unfortunate children, and those faithful servants who have never abandoned me, and those old men, whose subsistence depended upon the little pensions I allowed them! Who will succour

assembly shuddered. But the feeling of natural affection towards his relation was so much a stranger to the bosom of the speaker, that he returned tranquilly to his seat. Celebrated equally for personal depravity, political aggression, and cowardice, the duke of Orleans fell shortly after a victim to the disorders which his crimes had tended to originate. He perished on the scaffold November 6th, 1793, in his 46th year. Vide Necker on Rev. vol. i. 403.—*Biographie Moderne*, art. *Orleans*.

and protect them? I see the people, delivered over a prey to anarchy, become the victims of every faction: crimes succeed crimes; long dissensions tear France in pieces!" Then, after a moment's pause, "Oh, my God!" he exclaimed, "is this the reward which I must receive for all my sacrifices? Have I not tried every thing to ensure the happiness of the French people?" In pronouncing these words, he seized and pressed both my hands. Penetrated with a holy respect, I bathed his with my tears; and in that state was under the necessity of breaking from him. The king expected M. de Malesherbes, but in vain. At night he asked me if he had been at the Temple: I had put the same question to the commissioners, who had all answered, No.

On Friday, the 18th, the king was exceedingly uneasy at hearing no news of M. de Malesherbes. He happened to take up an old *Mercure de France*, where he found a riddle*, which he gave me to guess; but, not being able to do it, "What, can't you find it out?" said he; and yet it is at this moment very applicable to me: *sacrifice* is the word." He then ordered me to look in the library for the volume of Hume's History of England

* *Logogriphe*, a particular sort of riddle, where the word meant is described by the different words and names which may be made out of some or all the letters.

that contained the death of Charles I., which he read the following days. I found, on this occasion, that his majesty had perused, since his coming to the Temple, two hundred and fifty volumes. At night I took the liberty of observing to him that he could not be deprived of his counsel without a decree of the convention, and that he might demand their admission to the tower. "Let us wait till to-morrow" was his reply,

On Saturday the 19th, at nine in the morning, a municipal officer, named Gobeau, came in, holding a paper in his hand: he was accompanied by the warden of the tower, one Mathey, who brought a standish. The municipal officer told the king that he had orders to take an inventory of the furniture and other effects. His majesty left me with him, and retired to the turret. The municipal officer then, under pretence of taking the inventory, began a very minute search, to be certain, as he said, that no arms or sharp instruments had been secreted in his majesty's chamber. A small desk remained to be examined, which contained papers. The king was compelled to open every drawer in it, and to remove and shew every paper, one after the other. There were three rouleaus at the bottom of one of the drawers, the contents of which they desired to see. "It is," said the king, "money which does not belong to me, but to M. de Malesherbes; I had put it up

for the purpose of giving it to him," The three rouleaus contained three thousand livres in gold; on each was written, in the king's hand, "For M. de Malesherbes."

While the same search was making in the turret, his majesty went into his chamber, and wanted to warm himself. Mathey, the warden, was standing before the fire, with his back to it, and his coat-flaps tucked up under his arms. As he scarcely left room on either side for the king to warm himself, and continued insolently standing in the same place, his majesty, with some quickness, told him to leave a little more room; on which he withdrew, and was soon after followed by the municipal officers, having concluded their scrutiny.

In the evening the king desired the municipal officers to inquire of the commune upon what grounds they objected to his counsel's coming to the tower, requesting to have at least some conversation with M. de Malesherbes. They promised to mention it; but one of them confessed that they had been forbidden to lay before the council-general any application from Louis XVI. but what should be written and signed by himself. "Why," replied the king, "have I been left two whole days ignorant of this alteration?" He then wrote a note, and gave it to the municipal officers; who, however, did not carry it to the commune till the next morning. The king desired

to have a free communication with his counsel, and complained of the resolution ordering him to be kept in sight both night and day. "It must be supposed," said he, in his note to the commune, "that, in the situation I now am, it is very painful for me not to have it in my power to be alone, and not to be allowed the tranquillity necessary to collect myself."

On Sunday the 20th of January, the king, the moment he was up, inquired of the municipal officers if they had laid his request before the council of the commune, which they assured him they had done immediately. About ten o'clock, on my going into the king's chamber, he said, "I do not see that M. de Malesherbes comes."—"Sire," said I, "I have just learnt that he came several times, but was always refused admission into the tower."—"I shall soon know the grounds of this refusal," replied the king, "as the commune have, no doubt, before this time, considered my letter." He employed himself the rest of the morning in walking about his chamber, and in reading and writing.

Just as the clock had struck two, the door was suddenly thrown open for the executive council. About a dozen or fifteen persons came forward at once:—Garat, the minister of justice; Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs; Grouvelle, secretary to the council; the president, and the procurator-general-syndic of the department; the mayor,

and solicitor to the commune; the president and public accuser of the criminal tribunal. Santerre, stepping before the others, told me to announce the executive council. The king, who had heard the noise they made in coming in, had got up, and advanced some steps; but, at sight of this train, he stopped between his chamber-door and that of the antichamber in a most noble and commanding attitude. I was close by him. Garat, with his hat upon his head, addressed him thus:—"Louis, the national convention has charged the provisionary executive council to make known to you its decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January. The secretary of the council will read them to you." On which Grouvelle, the secretary, unrolled the decree, and read it with a weak and tremulous voice.

Decrees of the National Convention of the 15*th*, 16*th*, 17*th*, 19*th*, *and* 20*th of January.*

Article 1.—The national convention declares Louis Capet, the last king of the French, guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of an attempt against the general safety of the state.

Art. 2.—The national convention decrees that Louis Capet shall suffer the punishment of death.

Art. 3.—The national convention declares null and void the instrument of Louis Capet, brought to the bar by his counsel, entitled, "An Appeal

to the Nation against the Judgment passed upon him by the Convention ;" and prohibits every one whomsoever to pay any attention to it, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of an attempt against the general safety of the republic.

Art. 4.—The provisionary executive council shall give notice of the present decree in the course of the day to Louis Capet, and shall take proper measures to carry the same into execution within twenty-four hours after such notice given, and shall give a full account thereof to the national convention immediately after it is executed.

While this was reading, no alteration took place in the king's countenance; I observed only in the first article, at the word *conspiracy*, a smile of indignation appear upon his lips; but at the words, *shall suffer the punishment of death*, the heavenly expression of his face, when he looked on those around him, shewed them that death had no terrors for innocence. The king stepped forward, and took the decree from the hands of the secretary Grouvelle, folded it up, and put it into his pocket-book, from which he took out another paper, and, presenting it to the minister Garat, desired he would deliver that letter immediately to the national convention. The minister appearing to hesitate, the king added, " I will read it

to you:" and, without the least change of countenance, read what follows.

"I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing before God. I also, for that purpose, demand that I may freely see the person whom I shall point out to the commissioners of the commune; and that that person may be ensured from all fear and all uneasiness on account of the act of charity he will bestow upon me.

"I demand to be freed from the incessant inspection which the council-general have for some days past established.

"I demand, in that interval, to be empowered to see my family at the time I shall appoint, and without a witness. I earnestly wish that the national convention would immediately take into their consideration the state of my family, and that they may be permitted freely to go wherever they think proper.

"I recommend to the bounty of the nation at large those persons who were dependent upon me: there are very many of them who had sunk their whole fortune in their places, from the loss of which they must now be in great want; and others who never had any thing to live upon but their appointments: among the pensioners there are many old men, women, and children, who have also no other support."

" Done at the tower of the Temple, the 20th of January, 1793.

(Signed) " LOUIS."

Garat took the king's letter, and said he was going with it to the convention. As he was leaving the room, his majesty felt again in his pocket, took out his pocket-book, and, presenting a paper from it, said, " Sir, if the convention agrees to my demand of the person I desire, here is his address." He then gave it to a municipal officer. This address, written in a different hand from the king's, was—" Monsieur Edgeworth de Firmont, No. 483, Rue du Bacq*." The

* M. de Malesherbes, according to his promise, had communicated to the abbé Edgeworth the king's request, that he would attend him during his last moments, in case his death should be demanded; a request with which that minister instantly and cheerfully complied, notwithstanding the danger to which it might expose him. Several days, however, passed away, during which, as he heard nothing from the king, he began to entertain a hope that the trial would yet issue only in banishment. But, on the 20th of January, he observes, a stranger called on me, and presented to me a note, containing these words:— " The executive council, having business of the highest importance to communicate to citizen Edgeworth de Firmont, invites him to come instantly to its sittings."—The stranger added that he had orders to accompany me, and that a carriage waited for us in the street. I went with him to the Thuileries, where the council held its meetings. I

king went back a few steps, and the minister, with those who accompanied him, went away.

His majesty walked about his chamber for an instant. I remained standing against the door, my arms crossed, and as one deprived of all feeling. The king came up to me, and bade me order his dinner. Shortly after two municipal officers called me into the eating-room, where they read me a resolution, importing, "that Louis should use neither knife nor fork at his meals, but that his valet-de-chambre should be trusted with a knife to cut his bread and meat, in the presence of two municipal officers, and that afterward the knife should be taken away." The two municipal officers charged me to inform the king of this, which I refused to do.

On entering the eating-room, the king saw the

found all the ministers assembled. Consternation appeared in their countenances. As soon as I entered, they arose, and all surrounded me with eagerness. The minister of justice first addressed me.—"Are you," said he, "the citizen Edgeworth de Firmont?" I replied that I was. "Louis Capet," continued the minister, "having expressed to us his desire to have you near him at his last moments, we have sent for you to know whether you consent to the service he requires of you."—I replied, that since the king had signified his wishes, and named me, it became my duty to attend him. "Then," pursued the minister, "you will go with me to the Temple, whither I will conduct you."—And, immediately taking a bundle of papers from the table, whispered a moment with the other ministers, and, going out in

tray in which was the queen's dinner: he asked why his family had been made to wait an hour beyond their time, and said the delay would alarm them. He then sat down to table. "I have no knife," said he. The municipal officer, Minier, then mentioned the resolution of the commune. "Do they think me such a coward," said the king, "as to make an attempt on my own life? They have imputed crimes to me, but I am innocent of them, and shall die without fear. Would to God my death might be productive of happiness to the French, or could avert the miseries I foresee!" A profound silence ensued. The king ate a little: he helped himself to some stewed beef with a spoon, and broke his bread. He was at dinner but a few minutes.

I was sitting in my chamber, a prey to the

haste, ordered me to follow him. An escort of horse waited for us at the door with the minister's carriage, into which I got, and he followed me. At this time all the catholic clergy of Paris were dressed like other citizens, so that I was not in a clerical dress; but, recollecting what I owed to the king, who had not been accustomed to such a costume, and to religion itself, which received for the first time a sort of homage from the new government, I thought I ought, on this occasion, to resume the exterior marks of my station; at least, to make the attempt appeared to me a duty. I mentioned it to the minister before we quitted the Thuileries; but he rejected my proposition in terms that prevented my further insisting upon it, though without using any offensive language towards me.

deepest affliction, when, about six in the evening, Garat returned to the tower. I went to announce him to the king; but Santerre, who was before him, walked up to his majesty, and in a low voice, with a smile upon his face, said, "Here is the executive council." The minister, coming forward, told the king that he had carried his letter to the convention, which had charged him to deliver the following answer: "That Louis should be at liberty to send for any minister of worship he should think proper, and to see his family freely and without witness; that the nation, ever great and ever just, would take into consideration the state of his family; that proper indemnifications would be granted to the creditors of his household; and that, respecting the delay of three

Our drive to the Temple passed in gloomy silence. Two or three times, however, the minister made an attempt to break it: he drew up the carriage windows, and exclaimed, "Great God! with what a dreadful commission am I charged! What a man!" added he, speaking of the king. "What resignation! what courage!—No!—human nature alone could not give such fortitude; he possesses something beyond it!"—Such expressions gave me an excellent opportunity for speaking some unwelcome truths; but I hesitated an instant what course I should pursue; for I reflected, that my first duty was to afford the king the religious consolations he had so earnestly desired; and that, by giving vent to the indignation the conduct of my companion and his associates had inspired me with, I should probably be forbidden to approach my royal master. I therefore resolved

days, the national convention had passed to the order of the day."

On this reply the king made no observation, but returned to his chamber, where he said to me, "I thought, from Santerre's air and manner, that he came to inform me of the delay being granted." A young municipal officer, whose name was Botson, seeing the king speak to me, approached us; and the king said to him, "You seem concerned at my fate; accept my thanks for it." The municipal officer, surprised, knew not what to answer; and I was myself astonished at his majesty's expressions; for this municipal officer, who was scarcely two-and-twenty, and of a mild and engaging figure, had said, only a few minutes before, "I desired to be on duty at the Temple, to see the grimaces he will make to-

on absolute silence. The minister seemed to comprehend my motives, and said not a word during the remainder of our drive. We arrived at the Temple, and the first gate was instantly opened to us; but, when we reached the building which separates the court from the garden, we were stopped; and, before we could proceed, it was necessary that the commissaries of the tower should come and examine us, and ascertain our business; even the minister seemed subject to this form. We waited for the commissaries near a quarter of an hour without speaking to each other: at last they appeared. One of them was a young man of about seventeen or eighteen: they saluted the minister as an acquaintance; he told them in a few words who I was, and the nature of my mission; they made a sign to me to follow

morrow."—It was of the king that he spoke.—"And I too,"—subjoined Merceraut, the stone-cutter, whom I mentioned before:—every body refused to take the duty; I would not give up this day for a good deal of money." Such were the vile and ferocious men whom the commune purposely named to guard the king in his last moments.

For the last four days the king had not seen his counsel. Such of the commissioners as had shewn themselves concerned for his misfortunes avoided coming near the place. Among so many subjects to whom he had been a father, among so many Frenchmen whom he had loaded with his bounties, there was but a single servant left with him to participate in his sorrows.

After the answer from the convention was read,

them, and we all together crossed the garden to the tower. Here the scene became horrible beyond description: the door of the tower, though very narrow and very low, opened with a terrible noise: it was loaded with iron bolts and bars. We passed through a hall filled with guards into a still larger hall, which appeared from its shape to have been once a chapel. There the commissaries of the commune, who had the custody of the king, were assembled; I could not discover in their countenances that embarrassment or consternation which had struck me in the ministers. There were about twelve of them, mostly in the dress of jacobins.

Their air, their manners, their *sang froid*, all denoted them to be men of desperate minds, who did not shrink from the contemplation of the blackest crimes.

the commissioners took the minister of justice aside, and asked him how the king was to see his family. "In private," replied Garat; "it is so intended by the convention." Upon which the municipal officers communicated to him the resolution of the commune, which enjoined them not to lose sight of the king, night or day. It was then agreed between the municipal officers and the ministers, in order to reconcile these two opposite resolutions, that the king should receive his family in the eating-room, so as to be seen through the glazed partition; but that the door should be shut, that they might not be heard.

His majesty called the minister of justice back, to ask if he had sent to M. de Firmont. Garat said he had brought him with him in his carriage; that he was with the council, and was coming

But, in justice, I ought to say, that this is not a portrait of them all; and I thought I could discover some, who had been induced, from the weakness of their character, to associate with the rest. Whatever might be their respective feelings, they were all taken indiscriminately by the minister into a corner of the apartment, where he read to them, in a low voice, the papers which he had brought from the Thuileries. When he had done, he turned suddenly to me, and desired me to follow him; but this the council opposed by acclamation: again they assembled in the corner of the hall, deliberating some time in whispers; the result was, that one half of the assembly accompanied the minister, who went up stairs to the king, while the other half remained to guard me. When the doors were carefully closed, the oldest of

up. His majesty gave 3000 livres in gold to a municipal officer, named Baudrais, who was talking with the minister, which he begged him to deliver to M. de Malesherbes, to whom they belonged. The municipal officer promised he would, but immediately carried them to the council, and this money never was paid to M. de Malesherbes. M. de Firmont now made his appearance; and the affecting account of his interview with the king has thus been given by himself:—

" When we reached the apartment of the king, all the doors of which were open, I perceived him in a group of eight or ten persons; it consisted of the minister of justice, accompanied by some members of the commune, who came to read to him the fatal decree, which *sentenced him to*

the commissaries approached me with a polite but embarrassed air, spoke of the terrible responsibility he was under, and begged a thousand pardons for the liberty he was obliged to take. I guessed that this preamble was to end in my being searched, so I anticipated him by saying, that, since the reputation of M. de Malesherbes could not excuse him from this formality, I could not flatter myself that, when I came to the Temple, an exception would be made in my favour. I assured him that I had nothing about me that could be suspected; but added, that he was welcome to satisfy himself. Notwithstanding this declaration, the search was made with rigour; my snuff-box was opened, the snuff examined, and a little steel pencil-case, which happened to be found in my pocket, was carefully inspected, to discover whether it concealed a poniard.

death on the following day. He was calm, tranquil, even with an aspect of benignity, while not one of those who surrounded him had an air of composure.

" As soon as he saw me, he waved his hand for them to retire; they obeyed in silence; he himself shut the door after them, and I found myself alone with my sovereign.

" Till this moment I had been able to command the various emotions with which I had been agitated; but at the sight of a prince who had been once so great, and who was now so unfortunate, I was no longer master of myself; I could not restrain my tears, and I fell at his feet without the power of utterance. This touched him more than the decree which he had just heard; he answered my tears only by his own; but, soon resuming all his firmness, ' Forgive me,' said the king, ' forgive me, sir, a moment's *weakness*, if such it can be called; for a long time I have lived among my

" They paid no attention to any papers I had about me, and, finding every thing else unexceptionable, they renewed the excuses with which they had begun, and invited me to sit down; but I had scarcely done so when two of the commissaries, who had gone up to the king, came to tell me that I was allowed to see him. They conducted me by a winding staircase, which was so narrow that two persons could hardly pass each other; at certain intervals barriers were placed across the stairs, and at every barrier stood a sentinel; these men were actual *sans culottes*, and almost all drunk. The shouts they made, re-echoing through the vaults of the Temple, were quite horrible.

enemies, and habit has in some degree familiarized me to them; but, when I behold a faithful subject, this is to me a new sight; a different language reaches my heart; and, in spite of my utmost efforts, I am melted:'—saying these words, he kindly raised me from the ground, and led me into his closet, that he might speak more freely, for from his chamber all he said was overheard. This closet or cabinet was built in one of the turrets of the Temple; it had neither hangings nor ornament; a bad stove served for a fire-place, and the only furniture was one table and three leathern chairs. There, making me sit down near him, 'Now, sir,' said he, 'the great business of my salvation is the only one which ought to occupy my thoughts. The only business of real importance! What are all other subjects compared to this? This must, however, be delayed for a few moments, because my family are coming to take leave of me for ever*. In the mean

* At eight o'clock the king had come out of his closet, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to his family: they replied, that could not be; but his family should be brought down, if he desired it. "Be it so," said the king: "but I may at least see them alone in my chamber."—"No," rejoined one of them, "we have settled with the minister of justice, that it shall be in the eating-room."—"You have heard," said his majesty, "that the decree of the convention permits me to see them without witnesses."—"True," replied the officers, "you will be in private: the

time here is a paper that I wish you to read. As he spoke, he drew from his pocket a sealed paper, and broke it open. It was his will, which he had made in the month of December, at a period when he was uncertain whether any religious assistance would be allowed to him in his last moments.

" All those who have read this paper, so interesting, and so worthy of a Christian king, can easily judge of the deep impression it must have made on me. But, what most astonished me was, that the monarch had fortitude sufficient to read it himself, which he did nearly twice over. His voice was firm, and no change was to be seen in his countenance, except when he read names most dear to him:—then all his tenderness was awakened; he was obliged to pause a moment, and his tears flowed, notwithstanding his efforts to restrain them:—but when he read passages that concerned himself alone, and that related only to his personal calamities, he seemed no more affected than if he had heard the misfortunes of an indifferent person related.

" Perceiving, when he had finished reading, that the royal family were not coming, the king hastened to inquire from me the state of his clergy, and of the French church. Some things

door shall be shut, but we shall have our eyes upon you through the glass."—" Let my family come," said the king. *Cléry*, p. 236.

he had learned, notwithstanding the rigour of his confinement; he knew in general that the French ecclesiastics had been obliged to fly their country, and had been received in London, but he was entirely ignorant of particulars. The little that I thought it my duty to tell him seemed to make a great impression upon his majesty's mind; he deplored the fate of his clergy, and he expressed the greatest admiration for the people of England, who had mitigated their sufferings. But he did not confine himself to these general inquiries; he entered into particulars that surprised me; he wished to know what had become of many of the clergy in whose welfare he took a peculiar interest. The cardinal de la Rochefoucault and the bishop de Clermont seemed to fix his attention, but his eagerness redoubled at the name of the archbishop of Paris: he inquired where he was, what he was doing, and whether I had the power of corresponding with him:—'Tell him,' said the king, 'that I die in his communion, and that I never have acknowledged any pastor but him. Alas! I am afraid he is offended at my not answering his last letter; I was then at the Thuileries; but, in fact, my enemies kept so close to me at that period, that I had not time to write; at all events, he has so much goodness of heart, that I am sure he will pardon me.' His majesty spoke also of the abbé Floriae, whom he had never seen; but he was well acquainted with

the services which this respectable divine had rendered to the diocese of Paris, in times of the greatest difficulty. His majesty asked me what had been his fate; and when I told him that he had had the good fortune to effect his escape, he spoke of him in terms which evinced the value he attached to his services, and the esteem in which he held his virtues. I don't know by what chance the conversation fell upon the duke of Orleans: the king seemed to be well acquainted with his intrigues, and with the horrid part he had taken at the convention; but he spoke of him without any bitterness, and with pity rather than with anger: 'What have I done to my cousin,' he exclaimed, 'that he should so persecute me? What object could he have? Oh he is more to be pitied than I am!—my lot is melancholy, no doubt, but his is much more so! No! I would not change with him!'"

CHAP. XVI.

The last Interview between the King and Royal Family.—The King's Tenderness, his Patience and Firmness.—He is attended to his last Moment by M. Edgeworth.—Circumstances attending his Death.

HIS majesty having gone into the eating-room, I followed him, and placed the table aside, and set chairs at the top to make room. The king desired me to bring some water and a glass. There being a decanter of iced water standing on a table, I brought only a glass, which I placed by it; on which he told me to bring water that was not iced, for, if the queen drank that, it might make her ill. "Go," added his majesty, "and tell M. de Firmont not to leave the closet, lest my family should be shocked on seeing him." The commissioner who had gone for them staid a quarter of an hour; during which time the king returned to his closet, but from time to time came to the entry-door in extreme agitation*.

* His interesting conversation with M. Edgeworth was interrupted by one of the commissaries, who came to inform the king that his family were come down, and that he was

At half past eight the door opened. The queen came first, leading her son by the hand; Madame Royale and madame Elizabeth followed. They all threw themselves into the arms of the king. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes; and it was only broken by sighs and sobs. The queen made an inclination towards his majesty's chamber. "No," said the king, "let us go into this room; I can see you only there." They went in, and I shut the glass-door. The king sat down; the queen was on his left hand, madame Elizabeth

at length permitted to see them. At these words, says M. Edgeworth, he appeared extremely agitated, and he broke from me with precipitation. The interview took place, as well as I could judge, for I was not present at it, in a little room which was only separated by a glass door from that which the commissaries occupied; so that they could see and hear all that passed. Even I, though shut up in the cabinet where the king had left me, could easily distinguish their voices, and I was involuntarily in some degree witness to the most touching scene I ever heard. It would be impossible for me to describe this agonizing interview; not only tears were shed, and sobs were heard, but piercing cries, which reached the outer court of the Temple. The king, the queen, Monseigneur, the dauphin, madame Elizabeth, Madame Royale, all bewailed themselves at once, and their voices were confounded; at length their tears ceased, for their strength was exhausted: they then spoke in a low voice, and with some degree of tranquillity.

The conversation lasted near an hour, and the king parted from his family, leaving them the hope of seeing him in the morning.

on his right, Madame Royale nearly opposite, and the young prince stood between his legs: all were leaning on the king, and often pressed him in their embraces. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impossible to hear any thing. It could, however, be seen, that, after every sentence uttered by the king, the agitation of the queen and princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the king began to speak again. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first: intelligence of his condemnation *.

At a quarter past ten, the king rose first they all followed. I opened the door. The queen held the king by his right arm: their majesties gave each a hand to the dauphin. Madame Royale, on the king's left, had her arms round his body; and, behind her, madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps

* Being told that they were permitted to see the king, they flew to his apartment, and found him much changed. He wept with grief for them,—not from the fear of death. He related his trial to the queen, excusing the wicked men who had condemned him. He told her that it had been wished to have recourse to the primary assemblies to save him, but that he did not desire it, because the measure would produce a civil war. He afterwards gave good and pious instructions to his son, recommending to him, above all, to pardon those who had caused his death. He bestowed his blessing upon him, and upon his daughter.—*Private Memoirs.*

towards the entry-door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. "I assure you," said the king, "that I will see you again to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock."—"You promise?" said they all together.—"Yes, I promise."—"Why not at seven o'clock?" said the queen.—"Well! yes, at seven," replied the king; "farewell!" He pronounced "Farewell" in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the king, round whom she had clung. I raised her, and assisted madame Elizabeth to support her. The king, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. "Farewell! farewell!" said he, and went into his chamber.

The queen, princesses, and dauphin, returned to their own apartments. I attempted to continue supporting Madame Royale, but the municipal officers stopped me before I had gone up two steps, and compelled me to go in. Though both the doors were shut, the screams and lamentations of the queen and princesses were heard for some time on the stairs. The king returned to his confessor in the turret closet*.

* The king returned immediately to me, continues M. Edgeworth, but in a state of agitation which shewed that he was wounded to the soul.

"Oh, sir!" cried he, throwing himself into a chair, "what

He came out in half an hour, and I put supper upon the table: the king ate little, but heartily.

an interview have I gone through. Why should I love so tenderly, and why should I be so tenderly beloved? But it is past! Let us forget every thing else to turn my thoughts to that alone which is now of importance—to that which should at this moment concentrate all my feelings."

He was continuing to speak in this manner, which shewed at once his sensibility and his courage, when Cléry came to entreat him to take some refreshment. The king hesitated a moment, but, after some reflection, consented. The supper did not last more than five minutes; and the king, retiring into his closet, begged me to follow him. I had scarcely strength to rise, but the dread of giving him pain made me comply. One thought had strongly weighed upon my mind, since I had been so near the king: I determined to procure the means of administering the sacrament to his majesty, at any risk to myself, since he had been so long deprived of the opportunity of receiving it. I should have brought the elements in secret with me, as we were obliged to do to all good Christians, who were detained in their own houses; but the strict search it was necessary to submit to in coming to the Temple, and the profanation which would infallibly have followed, were motives more than sufficient to have prevented me. There remained no other resource than for me to say mass in the king's chamber, if I could find the means. I proposed it to him; but, though he desired it most ardently, he seemed afraid of compromising my safety. I entreated him to give me his consent, promising that I would conduct myself with prudence and discretion. He at length yielded: "Go, sir," said he; "but I very much fear you will not succeed, for I know the men with whom you have to deal;

After supper, his majesty returning to the closet, his confessor came out in a few minutes, and

they will grant nothing which they can refuse." Fortified by this permission, I desired to be conducted to the hall of council, and there I made my demand in the name of the king. This proposal, for which the commissaries of the tower were not prepared, disconcerted them extremely, and they sought for different pretexts to elude it. How could they find a priest at that hour? and, when they had got one, how obtain all that was necessary? "The priest is already found," I replied, "for I am he; and, as for the rest, the nearest church will supply all that is necessary, if you will make the application. You will consider that my demand is just, and that it would be against your own principles to refuse me." One of the commissaries instantly, though rather in guarded terms, insinuated that my request was only a snare; and that, under the pretence of giving the communion to the king, I intended to poison him. "History has furnished us with examples enough of this kind to make us circumspect," said he. I looked steadily in the face of this man, and replied, "The strict search I underwent as I came in here ought to convince you that I do not carry poison. If then, to-morrow, any is found, it must be from you that I shall have received it: all that I demand for the celebration of mass must pass through your hands."

He would have replied, but the rest commanded him to be silent: and for a last subterfuge they said, that, as the council was incomplete, they could not decide upon any thing; but that they would go for the absent members, and then tell me the result of their deliberations.

A quarter of an hour past, and I was again brought into their chamber, where the president thus addressed me: "Citi-

desired the municipal officers to conduct him to the council-chamber. It was to request that he might be furnished with the garments, and whatever else was necessary, for performing mass early the next

zen, minister of religion, the council have taken into consideration the request that you have made, in the name of Louis Capet; and since they deem his request conformable to the law, which declares that all forms of worship are free, they consent to it; nevertheless, we exact two conditions. The first, that you draw up instantly an address containing your demand, signed by yourself; and the second, that your religious ceremonies should be concluded by seven o'clock to-morrow, at the latest; for, at eight precisely, Louis Capet must set out for the place of execution."

These last words were said, like all the rest, with a degree of cold-blooded indifference, which characterized an atrocious mind.

I put my request in writing, and left it on the table. They re-conducted me to the king, who awaited with anxiety the conclusion of this affair. The summary account which I gave him, in which I suppressed all particulars, pleased him extremely.

It was now past ten o'clock, and I remained with the king till the night was far advanced; when, perceiving that he was fatigued, I requested him to take some repose. He complied with his accustomed kindness, and charged me to lie down also. I went by his desire into a little closet which Cléry occupied, which was separated from the king's chamber only by a thin partition; and, whilst I was occupied by the most overwhelming thoughts, I heard the king tranquilly giving directions for the next day, after which he lay down on his bed.

morning. M. de Firmont did not prevail without great difficulty in having his request granted. The articles wanted for the service were brought from the church of the capuchins of the Marais, near the hôtel de Soubise, which had been formed into a parish. On returning from the council-chamber, M. de Firmont went directly to the king, who accompanied him to the turret, where they remained together till half past twelve. I then undressed the king; and, as I was going to roll his hair, he said, "It does not signify." Afterwards, when he was in bed, as I was drawing his curtains, "Cléry, you will call me at five o'clock."

He was scarcely in bed before he fell into a profound sleep, which lasted, without interruption, till five. M. de Firmont, whom his majesty had persuaded to take some rest, threw himself upon my bed; and I passed the night on a chair in the king's chamber, praying God to support his strength and his courage.

On hearing five o'clock strike I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the king, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bedside. "I have slept soundly," said his majesty; "I stood in need of it: yesterday was a fatiguing day to me. Where is M. de Firmont?" I answered, On my bed.—"And where were you all night?"—"On this chair."—"I am

sorry for it," said the king.—" Oh! sire," replied I, " can I think of myself at this moment?" He gave me his hand, and tenderly pressed mine.

I then dressed his majesty; during which time he took a seal from his watch, and put it into his waistcoat pocket; the watch he placed on the chimney-piece: then, taking off his ring from his finger, after looking at it again and again, he put it into the pocket with the seal. He changed his shirt, put on a white waistcoat, which he wore the evening before, and I helped him on with his coat. He then emptied his pockets of his pocket-book, his glass, his snuff-box, and some other things, which, with his purse also, he deposited on the chimney-piece: this was all done without a word, and before several municipal officers. As soon as he was dressed, the king bade me go and inform M. de Firmont of it, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended his majesty to the turret*.

* Soon after five o'clock, says M. Edgeworth, the king sent for me, and I attended him for near an hour in the cabinet, where he had received me the evening before. When I retired, I found an altar completely prepared in the king's apartment The commissaries had executed to the letter every thing that I had required of them; they had even done more than I had asked, I having only demanded what was indispensable.

The king heard mass: he knelt on the ground without cushion or desk: he then received the sacrament, after which ceremony I left him for a short time at his prayers. He soon

Meanwhile, I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying mass. The necessary articles had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The priest's garments I carried into my chamber; and, when every thing was ready, I went and informed his majesty. He asked me if I was acquainted with the service. I told him I was, but that I did not know the responses by heart. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and, finding the place of the mass, gave it me: he then took another book for himself. The priest was then dressing. Before the altar I had placed an armed chair for his majesty, with a large cushion on the ground. The cushion he desired me to take away, and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly made use of at his prayers. When the priest came in, the municipal officers retired

sent for me again, and I found him seated near his stove, where he could scarcely warm himself.

"My God," said he "how happy I am in the possession of my religious principles! Without them, what should I now be? But, with them, how sweet death appears to me! Yes, there dwells on high an incorruptible Judge, from whom I shall receive the justice refused to me on earth."

The sacred offices I performed at this time prevent my relating more than a few sentences out of many interesting conversations which the king held with me during the last sixteen hours of his life; but, by the little that I have told, it may be seen how much might be added, if it were consistent with my duty to say more.

into the antechamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The mass began at six o'clock. There was a profound silence during the awful ceremony. The king, all the time on his knees, heard mass with the most devout attention, and received the communion. After the service his majesty withdrew to his closet; and the priest went into my chamber, to put off his official attire.

I seized this moment of going to the king. He took both my hands into his, and said, with a tone of tenderness, "Cléry, I am satisfied with your attentions."—"Ah! sire," said I, throwing myself at his feet, "why cannot I, by my death, satisfy these butchers, and preserve a life of so much value to every good Frenchman? Hope, sire! they will not dare to strike the blow."—"Death," said he, "does not alarm me; I am quite prepared for it; but do not you expose yourself. I mean to request that you should remain with my son. Take every care of him in this horrid abode: bring to his mind, tell him all the pangs I suffered for the misfortunes entailed upon him. The day perhaps may come when he will have it in his power to reward your zeal."—"Oh! my master! Oh! my king!" cried I, "if the most absolute devotion, if my zeal, if my attentions have been agreeable to you, the only reward I desire of your majesty is to receive your blessing: do not refuse it to the last Frenchman remaining with you." I was still at his feet, holding one of his hands: in

that state he granted my request, and blessed me; then, raising me, pressed me to his bosom, saying, "Give it to all who are in my service: and tell Turgi I am pleased with his conduct. Now go," added he, "and give no room for suspicion against you." Then calling me back, and taking up a paper which he had put upon a table, "Here," said he, "is a letter I received from Petion, on your coming to the Temple; it may be of use to you in staying here." I again seized his hand, which I kissed, and retired. "Farewell!" he again said to me, "Farewell!"

I went to my chamber, where I found M. de Firmont on his knees, praying by my bedside. "What a monarch!" said he, rising; "with what resignation and fortitude does he go to meet death! He is as calm, as composed, as if he had been hearing mass in his own palace, and surrounded with his court."—"I have this moment," said I, "been taking the most affecting leave of him: he deigned to promise me that he would request my being permitted to continue at the tower, in the service of his son. I beg you, sir, when he goes out, to put him in mind of it, for I shall never more have the happiness of seeing him alone."—"Be composed," said M. de Firmont, and rejoined the king*.

* Morning began to dawn, says M. Edgeworth de Firmont, and the drums sounded in all the sections of Paris. An extraordinary movement was heard in the tower—it

At seven o'clock, the king, coming out of his closet, called to me, and, taking me within the

seemed to freeze the blood in my veins; but the king, more calm than I was, after listening to it for a moment, said to me without emotion, 'Tis probably the national guard beginning to assemble.'

In a short time detachments of cavalry entered the court of the Temple, and the voices of officers, and the trampling of horses, were distinctly heard. The king listened again, and said to me, with the same composure, 'They seem to be approaching.'

On taking leave of the queen the evening before, he had promised to see her again next day, and he wished earnestly to keep his word; but I entreated him not to put the queen to a trial under which she must sink. He hesitated a moment; and then, with an expression of profound grief, said, 'You are right, sir; it would kill her. I must deprive myself of this melancholy consolation, and let her indulge in hope a few moments longer.'

From seven o'clock till eight various persons came frequently under different pretences to knock at the door of the cabinet, and each time I trembled lest it should be the last. But the king, with more firmness, rose without emotion, went to the door, and quietly answered the people who thus interrupted us. I do not know who these men were, but amongst them was one of the greatest monsters that the revolution had produced; for I heard him say to his king, in a tone of mockery, I know not on what subject, 'Oh, that was very well once, but you are now no longer king.' His majesty did not reply a word; but, returning to me, satisfied himself by saying, 'See how these people treat me. But I know to endure every thing.'

Another time, after having answered one of the commis-

recess of the window, said, "You will give this seal to my son—this ring to the queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it: this little packet contains the hair of all my family; you will give her that too.—Tell the queen, my dear children, and my sister, that, although I promised to see them this morning, I have resolved to spare them the pangs of so cruel a separation: tell them how much it costs me to go without receiving their embraces once more!" He wiped away some tears; then added, in the most mournful accent, "I charge you to bear them my last farewell!" He returned to the turret.

The municipal officers who had come up heard his majesty, and saw him give me the things, which I still held in my hands. At first they desired to have them given up; but one of them proposing to let them remain in my possession, till the council should decide what was to be done, it was so agreed.

In a quarter of an hour after, the king again came out: "Inquire," said he to me, "if I can have a pair of scissors." I made the request known to the commissioners. "Do you know what he wants to do?"—"I know nothing about

saries who came to interrupt us, he returned, and said with a smile, 'These people see poniards and poison every where; they fear that I shall destroy myself. Alas! they little know me; to kill myself would indeed be weakness. No! since it is necessary, I know how I ought to die.'

it."—"We must know." I knocked at the door of the closet, and the king came out. The municipal officer, who had followed me, said to him, "You have desired to have a pair of scissors; but, before the request is made to the council, we must know what you want to do with them." His majesty answered, "It is that Cléry may cut my hair." The municipal officers retired. One of them went down to the council chamber, where, after half an hour's deliberation, the scissors were refused. The officer came up, and acquainted the king with their decision. "I did not mean to touch the scissors," said his majesty; "I should have desired Cléry to cut my hair before you: try once more, sir; I beg you to represent my request." The officer went back to the council, who persisted in their refusal.

It was at this time that I was told to prepare myself to accompany the king, in order to undress him on the scaffold. At this intelligence I was seized with terror; but, collecting all my strength, I was getting myself ready to discharge this last duty to my master, who felt a repugnance to its being performed by the executioner, when another municipal officer came and told me that I was not to go out, adding, "The common executioner is good enough for him."

All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of

horses, the removal of cannon, which were incessantly carried from one place to another, all resounded at the tower.

At half after eight o'clock the noise increased, the doors were thrown open with great clatter, when Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement the king came out of his closet, and said to Santerre, "You are come for me?"—"Yes" was the answer.—"A moment *," said the king, and went to his closet, from which he

* We heard another knock at the door, continues M. Edgeworth;—it was to be the last. It was Santerre and his crew. The king opened the door, as usual. They announced to him (I could not hear in what terms) that he must prepare for death. 'I *am occupied*,' said he, with an air of authority; 'wait for me. In a few minutes I will return to you.' Then, having shut the door, he kneeled at my feet. 'It is finished, sir,' said he, 'give me your last benediction, and pray that it may please God to support me to the end.' He soon arose, and, leaving the cabinet, advanced towards the wretches who were in his bed-chamber. Their countenances were embarrassed, yet their hats were not taken off, and the king, perceiving it, asked for his own. Whilst Cléry, bathed in tears, ran for it, the king said, 'Are there amongst you any members of the commune? I charge them to take care of this paper!' It was his will. One of the party took it from the king. 'I recommend also to the commune, Cléry, my valet-de-chambre. I can do no more than congratulate myself in having had his services. They will give him my watch and clothes; not only those I have here, but those that have been

instantly returned, followed by his confessor. His majesty had his will in his hand, and, addressing a municipal officer, (named Jaques Roux, a priest,) who happened to stand before the others, said, "I beg you to give this paper to the queen—to my wife."—"It is no business of mine," replied he, refusing to take it; "I am come here to conduct you to the scaffold." His majesty then turned to Gobeau, another municipal officer. "I beg," said he, "that you will give this paper to my wife; you may read it; there are some particulars in it I wish to be made known to the commune."

I was standing behind the king, near the fireplace. He turned round to me, and I offered him his great coat. "I don't want it," said he; "give me only my hat." I presented it to him;—his hand met mine, which he pressed once more for the last time. "Gentlemen," said he, "addressing the municipal officers, "I should be glad that Cléry might stay with my son, as he has been accustomed to be attended by him; I trust that the commune will grant this request." His majesty then looked at Santerre, and said, "Lead on."

deposited at the commune. I also desire, that, in return for the attachment he has shewn me, he may be allowed to enter into *the queen's*—into *my wife's* service:' he used both expressions. No one answering, the king cried out in a firm tone, '*Let us proceed,*' at which words they all moved on.

These were the last words he spoke in his apartments. On the top of the stairs he met Mathey, the warden of the tower, to whom he said, "I spoke with some little quickness to you the day before yesterday; do not take it ill." Mathey made no answer, and even affected to turn from the king while he was speaking *.

The king crossed the first court, (continues M. Edgeworth) formerly the garden, on foot: he turned back once or twice towards the tower, as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was then trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court, a carriage waited; two gendarmes held the door: at the king's approach one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front; the king followed and placed me by his side; at the back of the carriage the other gendarme jumped in last, and shut the door.

It is said that one of these men was a priest in disguise: for the honour of religion, I hope that this may be false. It is also said that they had orders to assassinate the king on the smallest

* M. Cléry closes his affecting narrative in the following words:—I remained alone in the chamber, overwhelmed with sorrow, and almost without sense of feeling. The drums and trumpets proclaimed his majesty's departure from the tower. An hour after, discharges of artillery, and cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive la République!* were heard—The best of kings was no more!

murmur from the people. I do not know whether this might have been their design, but it seems to me, that, unless they possessed other arms than those that appeared, it would have been difficult to accomplish their purpose; for their muskets only were visible, which it would have been impossible for them to have used. These apprehended murmurs were not imaginary; a great number of people devoted to the king had resolved on tearing him from the hands of his guards, or at least on making the attempt. Two of the principal actors, young men whose names are well known, found means to inform me the night before of their intentions; and, though my hopes were not sanguine, I yet did not despair of rescue, even at the foot of the scaffold. I have since heard that the orders for this dreadful morning had been planned with so much art, and executed with so much precision, that of four or five hundred people, thus devoted to their prince, twenty-five only succeeded in reaching the place of rendezvous. In consequence of the measures taken before day-break in all the streets of Paris, none of the rest were able to get out of their houses.

The king finding himself seated in the carriage, where he could neither speak to me nor be spoken to without witness, kept a profound silence. I presented him with my Breviary, the only book I had with me, and he seemed to accept it with pleasure: he appeared anxious that I

should point out to him the psalms that were most suited to his situation, and he recited them attentively with me. The gendarmes, without speaking, seemed astonished and confounded at the tranquil piety of their monarch, to whom they doubtless never had before approached so near.

The procession lasted almost two hours. The streets were lined with citizens, all armed, some with pikes, and some with guns, and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As another precaution, they had placed before the horses a great number of drums, intended to drown any noise or murmur in favour of the king; but how could they be heard? Nobody appeared either at the doors or windows; and in the street nothing was to be seen but armed citizens,—citizens, all rushing towards the commission of a crime, which perhaps they detested in their hearts.

The carriage proceeded thus in silence to the Place de Louis XV., and stopped in the middle of a large space that had been left round the scaffold. This space was surronnded with cannon, and, beyond, an armed multitude extended as far as the eye could reach. As soon as the king perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, "We are arrived, if I mis-

take not." My silence answered that we were. One of the guards came to open the carriage-door, and the gendarmes would have jumped out; but the king stopped them, and, leaning his arm on my knee, "Gentlemen," said he, with the tone of majesty, "I recommend to you this *good* man; take care that after my death no insult be offered to him;—I charge you to prevent it." The two men answered not a word. The king was continuing in a louder tone, but one of them stopped him, saying, "Yes, yes, we will take care. Leave him to us;"—and I ought to add, that these words were spoken in a tone of voice which must have overwhelmed me, if at such a moment it had been possible for me to have thought of myself. As soon as the king had left the carriage, three guards surrounded him, and would have taken off his clothes; but he repulsed them with haughtiness: he undressed himself, untied his neck-cloth, opened his skirt, and arranged it himself. The guards, whom the determined countenance of the king had for a moment disconcerted, seemed to recover their audacity. They surrounded him again, and would have seized his hands. "What are you attempting?" said the king, drawing back his hands. "To bind you," answered the wretches. "To bind *me*," said the king, with an indignant air; "No! I shall never consent to that; do what you have been ordered, but you shall never bind

me." The guards insisted; they raised their voices; and seemed to wish to call on others to assist them.

Perhaps this was the most terrible moment of this most dreadful morning; another instant, and the best of kings would have received from his rebellious subjects indignities too horrid to mention—indignities that would have been to him more insupportable than death. Such was the feeling expressed on his countenance. Turning towards me, he looked at me steadily, as if to ask my advice. Alas! it was impossible for me to give any, and I only answered by silence; but, as he continued this fixed looked of inquiry, I replied, "Sire, in this new insult, I only see another trait of resemblance between your majesty and the Saviour who is about to recompense you." At these words he raised his eyes to heaven with an expression that can never be described. "You are right," said he; "nothing less than his example should make me submit to such a degradation." Then, turning to the guards, "Do what you will; I will drink of the cup, even to the dregs."

The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough, and difficult to pass: the king was obliged to lean on my arm, and, from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when, arrived at the last step, I

felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold; silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and in a voice so loud, that it must have been heard at the Pont Tournant, I heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words: "*I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France!*"

He was proceeding, when a man on horseback*, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and, with a ferocious cry, ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners. They seemed reanimated themselves, and, seizing with violence the most virtuous of kings, they dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body. All this passed in a moment. The youngest of the guards, who seemed about eighteen, immediately seized the head, and shewed it to the people as he walked round the scaffold. He accompanied this monstrous ceremony with the most atrocious and indecent gestures. At first an awful silence prevailed; at length some cries of *Vive la Republique!* were heard. By degrees the voices multiplied, and in less than ten minutes this cry, a

* Santerre.

thousand times repeated, became the universal shout of the multitude, and every hat was in the air *.

The body was taken to the burying-place of the parish-church of St. Magdeline. It was put into the ground without a coffin, between the spot where the persons who perished in the year 1773 after the fireworks in honour of his marriage were buried, and that where the Swiss, killed on the 10th of August in defending his palace, lay. It is said that the grave was filled up with quick lime.

* It is remarkable, that, in this account of the last moments of Louis XVI., the abbé Edgeworth has omitted to relate that fine apostrophe which every body has heard, and which every body believes that he addressed to his king, at the moment of execution—

"*Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!*"

The abbé Edgeworth has been asked if he recollected to have made this exclamation. He replied, that he could neither deny nor affirm that he had spoken the words. It was possible, he added, that he might have pronounced them without afterwards recollecting the fact, for that he retained no memory of any thing that happened relative to *himself* at that awful instant. His not recollecting or recording the words is, perhaps, the best proof that they were spoken from the impulse of the moment.—Vide *Memoirs of M. Edgeworth*, p. 88.

CHAP. XVII.

Forlorn Situation and Agony of the Queen and Princesses.—Persecutions to which they were exposed.—The Dauphin seized with Illness and Fever.—A female Attendant disordered in her Mind.

ON the morning of that terrible day, (the 21st of January, 1793,) the princesses rose at six. The evening before, the queen had, by an effort, undressed and put her son to bed. She afterwards threw herself on a bed in her clothes, where we heard her all night trembling with cold and misery. At a quarter past six the door opened, and the officers came in search of a prayer-book for the mass of the king. The princesses expected to descend, and they continued in this hope till the shouts of joy of an unbridled populace told them the crime was consummated.

In the afternoon, the queen asked leave to see Cléry, who had remained with the king till his last moments, and whom he had perhaps charged with some message to her. The two other princesses were anxious that she should see Cléry, as they hoped the agitation such an interview might occasion would lead her to give way to her grief, and

save her from that alarming silent oppression which they saw her suffer.

Cléry had in fact received from his master orders to deliver to the queen his wedding-ring, and to say that he had only parted from it with life. He had also intrusted to him a packet containing the hair of all his family, saying, that they had been so dear to him, that he had worn it to the last moment.

The officers said that Cléry was in a dreadful state of despair on not being permitted to see the princesses. The queen desired the commissioners to make her request known to the general council; she also demanded mourning for herself and family. Cléry remained another month in the Temple, and was then released.

The princesses had now a little more liberty. The guards even believed that they were to be sent out of the country. But nothing could calm the agony of the queen; nor was it possible to inspire her with any hope; for life was indifferent to her, and she feared not death. She would sometimes look upon her children and her sister with an expression of pity which alarmed them. Fortunately, the distress of the young princess increased her illness to such a degree as to occasion a favourable diversion to the despair of her mother. The physician Brunier and the surgeon Lacase were sent, and her health was restored in the course of a month.

The princesses were allowed to see the persons who brought their mourning, but only in the presence of the municipal officers. The queen now refused to walk in the garden, because it was necessary for her to pass the door of the chamber that the king had inhabited, and that always occasioned her too much suffering; but, fearing that the want of air might prove injurious to her children, she asked leave about the end of February to walk upon the leads, which was granted. Passing through the chamber of the municipal officers, they perceived the sealed packet which had contained the seal of the king, his ring, and many other things, lying open, the seal broken, and the contents missing. The officers were uneasy for a moment, but afterwards said they supposed they had been taken by some robber, who knew that the seal was set in gold. But the person who had taken these precious things, instead of intending to steal them, had taken them with no other intention than to secure them for the queen, who desired that the seal and ring should be preserved for her son. I know who this good man was; but, alas! he afterwards died for another good action.

When Dumourier had left France, the prisoners were again more strictly confined. A wall was built to separate the tower from the garden; parapets were put in the upper parts of the tower;

and every aperture was carefully closed up. On the 25th of March the chimney took fire. In the evening Chaumette, procureur of the commune, came for the first time to see the queen, to inquire if she wanted any thing. She asked only for a door of communication with her sister's room. The officers opposed this; but Chaumette said, that, in the declining state of the queen, it might be necessary for her health, and that he would speak of it to the general council of the commune. The next day he returned at ten in the morning, with Pâche the mayor, and the frightful Santerre, commander-in-chief of the national guard. Chaumette told the queen that he had spoken to the general council of her request for the door, but that it had been refused. Pâche asked if she had any complaints to make. She answered, No, without paying attention to what he said. A short time after this, he found among the guard some officers who had, out of compassion, endeavoured to soften the miseries of the princesses; but they soon discovered with whom they had to do. The queen, particularly, often prevented the other princesses from committing themselves by trusting to false pretensions of pity for her.

But persecutions redoubled. Tison was forbidden the seeing his daughter, which put him in bad humour. One evening, seeing a stranger come in who brought clothes to madame Elizabeth, he became enraged that this man should be allowed en-

trance, when it was refused to his relations. He dropt some words which, repeated to Pâche, who happened to be below, determined him to examine Tison. He asked him why he was so discontented? "Because I am not allowed to see my daughter, and because I see certain other persons who do not behave properly." (Some of the officers had spoken in a low voice to the queen and madame Elizabeth.) Pâche inquired their names, which Tison gave, affirming that the princesses had correspondence with persons out of the Temple. Being questioned as to his proofs, he replied, that one night, at supper, the queen, in drawing out her handkerchief, had dropped a pencil; and that one day, in the chamber of madame Elizabeth, he had found wafers and a pen in a box. After this denunciation, which he signed, his wife was examined, who repeated the same things, accused many of the officers, asserting that the princesses had had a correspondence with the king during his trial; and she denounced Brunier, physician to the younger princess, whom he had attended for a complaint in her foot, as having brought them intelligence. Under the influence of her husband, she signed all this; but she afterwards suffered great remorse. This denunciation was made on the 19th of April. She saw her daughter the next day. On the 20th, at half past ten at night, the queen and her daughter had just gone to bed when Hebert arrived with several municipal officers. They

rose in haste, and heard read a decree of the commune, which ordered them to be searched without reserve, which was strictly obeyed. The dauphin was asleep, and they drew him roughly from his bed, to search it. His mother took him up in her arms all benumbed with cold. From the queen they took a merchant's address which she had preserved, and from the chamber of madame Elizabeth a stick of sealing-wax. Their visit lasted till four in the morning. They made an inventory of all they had found, and obliged the queen and madame Elizabeth to sign it, threatening to carry off the children if they refused. They were exasperated at finding only trifles. Three days after they came again, and desired to see madame Elizabeth alone. They interrogated her about a hat which they had found in her chamber. They asked how it had come there, how long she had had it, and why she kept it? She answered, the king had worn it the first days of his residence in the Temple, and that she had requested it of him as a keep-sake. The municipal officers replied they would take away the hat as a suspicious thing; and, though she entreated that she might be allowed to retain it, they would not consent, but forced her to sign her answer, and carried off the hat.

The queen went every day upon the leads with her children, for the benefit of their health. The dauphin had for some days complained of a stitch

in his side; but on the 9th of May, at seven in the evening, he became extremely feverish, with a headach, and the pain in his side continued. During the first days of his illness he could not remain in bed, as he breathed with difficulty in a lying posture. His mother was anxious about him, and solicited a physician of the officers. They assured her the illness was nothing, and that her maternal anxiety had magnified the disease. They, however, spoke of it to the council, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the physician Brunier. The council did not believe that the dauphin's illness was of any consequence, as Hebert said that he had seen him at five o'clock without fever, and therefore they positively refused Brunier,—the same person whom Tison had lately denounced.

The dauphin's fever now became very high, and madame Elizabeth took the place of Madame Royale in the chamber of the queen, that the young princess might not be exposed to the infection of the fever; and to assist her sister in taking care of the child. The young princess slept in the chamber of her aunt. The fever continued several days; but the fits were strongest in the evening. The queen frequently requested the attendance of a physician, but without success. At length, on Sunday morning, Thierry, physician to the prisons, came, appointed by the commune to attend the dauphin. As he made his visit in the

morning, he found his fever slight; but the queen having desired him to return in the afternoon, he found it very high, and he undeceived the municipal officers, who had imagined the queen was alarmed without cause. He told them, on the contrary, that it was even more serious than she had thought it. He had even the goodness to go and consult Brunier about the disorder, and the remedies he ought to prescribe, as Brunier knew the constitution of the dauphin, having attended him from his infancy. He gave him some medicines that did him good. On Wednesday he gave him physic, and that night the young princess came to sleep in her mother's apartment, because, the last time the dauphin had taken physic, he had been seized with frightful convulsions, and the queen feared they might return. She did not sleep through the night. Meanwhile the dauphin took his medicine easily, which was of service to him, without occasioning any bad consequences. Some days after he took a second dose, which succeeded equally well, except that he found himself heated.

He had now only some slight fits of fever from time to time, and sometimes the stitch in his side; but from this period his health evidently began to alter, and it was never afterwards re-established. The want of air and exercise did him much injury; and likewise the kind of life this poor infant led, who, at the age of eight years, was always in the

midst of tears, sorrow, distractions, and continual terrors.

The 31st of May, the princesses heard the drum beat to arms, and the tocsin sounding; but their guard would not tell them what occasioned the disturbance. They were forbidden to go upon the leads to take air,—a prohibition that was always renewed every time that Paris was in commotion. In the beginning of June, Chaumette came with Hebert at six o'clock one evening, and again asked the queen if she wished for any thing, or if she had any thing to complain of? She only replied, No; —but madame Elizabeth requested of Hebert the hat which he had carried away. He told her the council did not think it proper to restore it. Madame Elizabeth, observing that Chaumette was not going away, and knowing how much her sister suffered (though she never shewed it) in his presence, asked why he had come, and if he would remain? Chaumette answered, that, having to visit the prisons, and all the prisons being equal, he came to the Temple. A few days after the dauphin swooned, and Thierry again came, accompanied by a surgeon named Soupé, and another named Julapes. This indisposition had no bad consequences.

About this time madame Tison became deranged. She was distressed by the illness of the dauphin, and for a long time had been tormented by remorse. She drooped, and was unwilling to

take the air. She began one day to speak to herself, and this making the young princess laugh, her mother and aunt looked at her with complacency, and with an air of satisfaction, which shewed the pleasure they felt in seeing her enjoy a moment of gaiety. But the poor woman's derangement soon became serious, and she was continually exclaiming aloud of her crimes, of her denunciations, of prisons, of scaffolds, of the queen, of the royal family, and of all their misfortunes. She believed that the persons she had denounced had perished, and considered herself as unworthy, by her crimes, to approach the princesses. Every day she expected the municipal officers whom she had accused, and, not seeing them, she retired to bed still more sorrowful. She had frightful dreams, and uttered cries which were heard by the princesses. The municipal officers permitted her to see her daughter, to whom she had always been extremely attached. One day the porter, who did not know of this order, refused her admission. The officers, seeing the distraction of the mother upon this disappointment, sent for the girl at ten o'clock at night; but her coming at this unexpected hour, frightened her still more, and she could hardly summon resolution to go down to her. On the stairs she said to her husband, that they were conducting her to prison. Even when she saw her daughter, she could not recognise her, and still imagined that they wished to arrest her. She returned up

stairs with one of the officers, but in the middle of them stopped, and would neither ascend nor descend. The officer, alarmed, called for assistance to carry her up. After reaching the top, she would not retire to bed, and did nothing but talk and cry, which prevented the princesses from sleeping. The next day the physician saw her, and pronounced her perfectly insane. She was continually at the feet of the queen entreating pardon, and it was impossible to shew more compassion than the queen and madame Elizabeth did towards this poor woman, with whom they certainly had no reason to be pleased. They endeavoured to calm her by the sincere assurance of their pardon, and took every care of her all the time she remained in the Temple. The next day she was taken from the tower and put in the castle; but her madness increasing more and more, she was conveyed to the hôtel Dieu, where the wife of one of the police was placed beside her, to collect all she might say in her delirium respecting the royal family.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Dauphin separated from the Queen and Princesses.—Distress of the Queen.—She is separated from the Princesses, and removed to the Prison of the Conciergerie.—Her Treatment there, and the Plans laid for her Escape.

ON the 3d of July, a decree of the convention was read to the prisoners, which announced that the dauphin should be separated from his family, and put into the most secure apartment of the tower. As soon as the young prince had heard this pronounced, he threw himself into the arms of his mother, uttering loud shrieks, and entreating that he might not be separated from her. The unhappy queen was wholly overcome by this cruel order. She would not surrender her son, and defended the bed where she had placed him against the officers; but they determined to have him, and threatened to call up the guard, and employ violence. The queen answered, they should kill her rather than tear her child from her. An hour passed thus, in resistance on her part, threats and insults on theirs, and in tears and prayers from the other princesses. At length, they threatened so positively to murder the infant if he

was not delivered to them, that maternal tenderness determined her to make the sacrifice. Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale dressed the child, for his poor mother had no longer strength; but after, he was dressed, she took him, and, delivering him into the hands of the officers, bathed him with her tears, foreseeing, perhaps, that she would never see him more! The poor child embraced very tenderly his mother, aunt, and sister, and was carried off in tears by the officers. The queen charged them to implore the council-general to allow her to see her son, were it only at the hours of repast. They undertook the commission. She was overwhelmed with sorrow at being thus separated from him; but her despair was complete, when she learned that one Simon, a shoemaker, whom she had already seen at the Temple as a municipal, had the charge of her unfortunate son. She incessantly entreated to see him, but in vain. The dauphin wept for two whole days, wholly inconsolable, and prayed, without ceasing, to see his family.

The officers remained no longer in the apartment of the queen. She continued day and night secured by bolts, with madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale; but it was an abatement of their misery to be relieved from such people. The guards came only three times a day to bring them food, to examine the windows, and to see if the bars were unaltered. The princesses had now

nobody to serve them, and they found themselves the less unhappy. Madame Elizabeth and the young princess made the beds, and waited on the queen. They went very often upon the tower, because the dauphin also walked on his side of it, and the sole pleasure of the queen was to see him pass, though only by a small and distant opening in the wall. She remained whole hours to watch the instant of seeing her infant pass. She seldom heard of him except from the officers or Tison, who sometimes saw Simon. Tison endeavoured to compensate for his past conduct, and acquainted the princesses with all he knew of the dauphin. As to Simon, he treated him worse than can be imagined, and the more because he wept at being separated from his family. He subdued him at last to such a degree, that he durst not shed a tear. Madame Elizabeth, who knew of all this, engaged Tison, and those who gave her intelligence of him, to conceal these horrid circumstances from the queen, who, notwithstanding, either knew or suspected them but too well.

One day, a report was spread, which even reached the convention, that the dauphin had been seen on the Boulevards. The guards of the Temple, who did not see him, reported that he was dead, and, alas! the princesses had, for an instant, the hope that it might be true! But all were quickly undeceived—the convention ordered that he should

descend into the garden to be seen. Then the young prince, whose faculties they had not yet had time to destroy entirely, complained of being separated from his mother; but he was silenced. As soon as the members of the convention, who had been sent to ascertain the existence of the dauphin, had gone up to the queen's apartment, she complained to them of the cruelty of depriving her of her son. They answered, It had been thought necessary to take that measure. A new procureur-générale had been lately appointed, who came also to see the prisoners. His manners astonished them, notwithstanding all they had seen since their misfortunes. From the moment this man entered the room, till the moment he departed, he did nothing but swear.

On the 2d of August, at two in the morning, the prisoners were awakened, that the queen might hear a decree of the convention, which ordered, upon the requisition of the procureur of the commune, that she was to be conducted to the Conciergerie, in order to take her trial. She heard the reading of this decree without emotion, without saying a single word; but madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale instantly requested to be allowed to follow the queen, which was refused. During the time the queen was making up a parcel of her clothes, the officers never left her, and she was even obliged to dress herself before them. They demanded her

pockets, which they searched, and took every thing they contained, though there was nothing of any importance. They made them up in a packet to be sent to the revolutionary tribunal, and told the queen that this packet would be opened in her presence. They only left her handkerchief and a smelling-bottle. The queen, being ready, embraced her daughter, and made her promise to preserve all her fortitude; she enjoined her to take care of her aunt, and to obey her as a second mother. She then threw herself into the arms of her sister, recommending her children to her care. The young princess was so much shocked, and her affliction so overwhelming, in separating from her mother, that she had not the power to reply to her. At last, madame Elizabeth having said some words in the ear of the queen, she departed without venturing again to look at her daughter, lest it might deprive her of all firmness. She was obliged to stop at the bottom of the tower, as the municipal officers wished to make a procès-verbal of the discharge of their prisoner. In coming out she struck her head upon the wicket, from not remembering to stoop; and when they asked if she had received any harm; "O, no," she replied, "nothing now can do me more harm." She ascended the carriage with a municipal and two gendarmes, and, when arrived at the Conciergerie, they put her into the dirtiest, dampest, and most unwholesome room in

the house*. There was always a gendarme in it, who never quitted it day or night!

Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale were inconsolable, and passed many days and many nights in tears; yet, when the queen set out, madame Elizabeth had been assured that nothing would happen to her.

It was a great comfort to Madame Royale not to be separated from her aunt, whom she tenderly loved; but, alas! all around her were to perish!

The day after the departure of the queen, madame Elizabeth earnestly solicited to be re-united to her, but could not succeed, nor could she even gain any intelligence respecting her. As she knew the queen never drank any thing but water, and could not drink that of the Seine, as it made her ill, she prayed the municipal officers to send her some of the Ville d'Avray, which was daily carried past the Temple. They consented, and an order was

* The queen was confined in a low, narrow, damp room, upon the ground floor. She there breathed the putrid air exhaled in the neighbourhood. The damp had separated the paper from the wall, so that only patches of it remained here and there. Girts, tied together in several places with ropes, on a paltry frame, a decayed paillasse, a ragged mattress, and an old worn-out dirty blanket, composed the bed of the queen of France! A broken screen served her instead of curtains. In this state, on such a couch, did her majesty pass the night, attempting to repose her head, after the sorrowful meditation of the day!—*Hue*, 480.

accordingly given; but one of their colleagues opposed it, and the order had no effect.

A few days after, the queen, in order to hear of her daughter and madame Elizabeth, attempted to send to the Temple for some things which she required, and, amongst others, her knitting materials, as she had engaged to make a pair of stockings for the dauphin. The princesses sent them, and every thing they could find of silk or wool, as they knew how much the queen liked to employ herself. They remembered how, in happier times, she never ceased to work, but during theatrical representations. All their cares were lost, for nothing was delivered to the queen of all that they had sent. They even knew that they had been retained, from the apprehension that she might make use of the knitting-needles to shorten her days.

CHAP. XIX.

Distressing Situation of the Dauphin.—The Princesses obtain Intelligence of the Queen.—Their imprisonment rendered more rigorous.—The Queen brought to Trial.—The Apartment of the Princesses searched.—They are separately interrogated.—The Death of the Queen.

THE two prisoners had for some time intelligence of the dauphin from the municipal officers, but this did not last. The princesses heard him sing every day, with Simon, the *Carmagnole*, the *Marseillais Hymn*, and other horrible songs. Simon put on his head the bonnet rouge, and dressed him in a carmagnole. He made him sing at the windows, that he might be heard by the guard; and taught him to pronounce frightful oaths against God, his family, and the aristocrats*. Happily the queen did not know of these shocking proceedings, as she was gone before Simon had taught the dauphin this impious language. This was a suffering from which Heaven preserved her!

Before the queen left the Temple, a mes-

* The infamous Simon lost his life upon the scaffold on the 29th of June, 1794.

senger had come for the clothes of the dauphin, and on this occasion she requested that the son of Louis XVI. should not leave off his mourning; but the first thing that Simon did was to take from him his black dress. Change of life and bad treatment made him fall ill the end of August. Simon made him eat to excess, and forced him to drink a great deal of wine, although he hated it. This regimen very soon produced a fever: he took a medicine which did not succeed, and his health became wholly disordered. He was extremely fat, without growing taller. Simon still led him to take the air upon the tower.

At the beginning of September, Madame Royale had an indisposition, which was entirely occasioned by anxiety about the fate of her mother, and she never heard the drums beat without fearing a new 2d of September. She went daily upon the tower with her aunt. The municipal officers visited them three times a day; but this severity did not prevent the prisoners from sometimes gaining information, particularly of the queen, who interested them the most. In spite of all the efforts of these men, whom no pity could touch, they always found some good hearts they could interest to serve them. They learned that the queen was accused of holding correspondence with foreign powers. Instantly they threw away their writings, their pencils, and all they had yet retained, fearing they might

be made to undress before the wife of Simon, and that the things they had might endanger the queen, for they had always preserved pens, ink, and paper, notwithstanding the rigorous search that had so often been made in their chambers. They were also informed that the queen might have escaped from the Conciergerie. The wife of the keeper was not insensible to her misfortunes, and had taken all the care of her in her power.

The municipal officers still came to ask linen for the queen, but would give no information about her health. They took away the pieces of tapestry the queen had worked, and even those upon which the princesses were employed, believing that in these works there might be some mysterious characters, and a peculiar manner of writing.

On the 21st of September, at one in the morning, Hebert arrived with some municipal-officers to execute a decree of the commune, which ordered that the two prisoners should be more closely confined than they had hitherto been; that they should have only one chamber; that they should be reduced to the simplest necessaries; that an opening should be made in their door, by which they could receive their food; and that, except the bearers of wood and water, nobody should enter their chamber. It was also ordered that Tison, who till now had done the common work, should be imprisoned in the turret.

The making an opening in the door did not take place, and the municipal officers continued to come three times a day to exàmine carefully the windows, closets, and drawers. The prisoners made their own beds, and swept their chamber,—an employment which took up a long time, from want of practice. Hebert said to madame Elizabeth, that, in the French republic, equality was the first of laws; and that, in the other prisons, the prisoners had nobody to serve them.

In order to treat them with more rigour, the smallest conveniences were taken from them; for example, an easy chair that madame Elizabeth had used, and many other things. When their meals were brought, their door was abruptly shut, that they might not see who came. They could no longer gain any intelligence, except by the hawkers, whose cries they heard. They were forbid to go upon the tower, and were deprived of the large sheets which they possessed, lest, in spite of the bars, they might descend by them from the windows. This was the pretext, but the real motive of the change was to give them very coarse and dirty sheets.

I believe it was at this moment the trial of the queen commenced. I have learned, since her death, that there was a design formed to deliver her from the Conciergerie, but unfortunately it did not succeed. I have been assured that the

gendarmes who guarded her, and the wife of the keeper, had been gained, and that she found many persons in the Conciergerie devoted to her; among others, a priest, who administered the sacrament to her, which she received with great piety.

The project of delivering her failed once, because she had been desired to speak to the second guard, and by a mistake she spoke to the first. Another time she was out of her chamber, and had passed the corridor, when a gendarme opposed himself to her departure, and obliged her to return, which occasioned the failure of the enterprise. These attempts ought not to excite surprise, when one reflects that all good people were interested in the queen, and, with the exception of those vile and ferocious beings who then ruled, every one who had had the happiness of seeing and approaching her, even for a few moments, were penetrated with respect for her,—so much did her goodness temper the awe which the dignity of her deportment inspired.

Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale knew none of these occurrences at the time; they only learned that the queen had seen a chevalier de St. Louis, who had given her a flower in which there was a billet; but, shut up as they were, they could not learn the sequel of this event*.

* M. Hue gives the detail. The chevalier de St. Louis was named Rougeville. Having contrived to be invited to

Every day they were visited and searched by the municipal officers. On the 4th of September they came at four in the morning to make a complete examination, and to take away the plate and porcelain. They carried off the little that remained; and, not being able to find all they expected, they accused the prisoners of having stolen it.—Princesses accused of theft! What indignity! It was their colleagues who were the thieves; but they were ignorant of it. They found behind the drawers of madame Elizabeth's dressing-table a rouleau of Louis, which they seized with extraordinary avidity. They questioned her strictly to discover from whom she had got this gold, how long she had had it, and for what purpose she had kept it. She said it was given to her by madame de Lamballe after the 10th of August; and, notwithstanding the searches that had been made, she had always preserved it.

dine at the house of Michonis, municipal, and one of the administrators of the prisons in Paris, he had the address to obtain from him permission to see the queen. Under the pretext of the fête of a lady, he provided himself with a bouquet, in which he concealed a billet, saying, "*I have at your command men and money.*" As soon as he was near the queen, he offered her the flower, warned by a glance that it contained a billet. She had already read it, and written with a pin an answer in the negative, when a guard entered suddenly and seized it. All was then discovered. M. de Rougeville escaped, but Michonis died on the scaffold.—*Hue*, 482.

They inquired who had given it to madame de Lamballe. To this she replied, That she did not know.

The fact was, that the woman of madame de Lamballe had found means of sending it to her in the Temple, and she gave it to the royal family. They also interrogated Madame Royale, and demanded her name, as if they had not known it, and made her sign the procès-verbal.

On the 8th of October, at noon, while the princesses were putting their chamber in order, and dressing themselves, Pâche, Chaumette, and David, members of the convention, arrived with many of the municipal officers. Madame Elizabeth did not open the door till she was dressed. Pâche, turning towards the young princess, requested her to descend: her aunt wished to follow, but they prevented her. She asked if her niece would return. Chaumette assured her of it, saying, "*You may rely on the word of a good republican that she shall return.*" She embraced her aunt, who was wholly overcome, and descended extremely embarrassed at finding herself for the first time alone with men. She did not know what they intended, but she recommended herself to God. In descending the stairs, Chaumette wished to shew her civilities, but she feigned not to observe them, and very soon arrived in the chamber of her brother, whom she tenderly em-

braced;—but they tore him from her arms, telling him to go into the other chamber.

Chaumette desired her to seat herself, which she did, and he placed himself opposite to her, while a municipal officer took a pen. Chaumette asked her name. After that question, it was Hebert who interrogated her. He began thus: "Tell me the truth; it does not regard you or your relations." "Does it not regard my mother?" "No; but persons who have not done their duty. Do you know the citizens Toulan, Le Pitre, Breno, Brugnot, Merle, Michonis?' "No, sir." "That is false. Particularly Toulan, that little young man who came so often for the service of the Temple?" "I know him no more than the others." "Do you remember one day when you remained alone with your brother in the turret?" "Yes." "Your parents had put you there, that they might speak more at their ease with these people?" "No, sir, but to accustom us to the cold." "What did you do in the turret?" "We talked and played." "In coming out, did you not perceive what these people brought to your parents?" "I did not observe any thing."

Chaumette afterwards interrogated her about many detestable things, of which they accused her mother and aunt. She was seized with such horror, and so indignant at their questions, that, notwithstanding her fear of them, she could not help exclaiming that they were infamous falsehoods.

And, although tears then filled her eyes, he only insisted the more strongly upon what he had said, and put many questions to her which she could not comprehend; but she understood enough to make her weep with indignation. He then questioned her about Varennes, and made many inquiries, which she answered as well as she could, without committing any one. She had always heard her parents say, that it were better to die than to involve others, whoever they might be. At length the examination finished about three o'clock, it had lasted from noon. She ardently entreated Chaumette to reunite her to her mother, saying, with truth, that she and her aunt had asked it many times. "I can do nothing in it," said he. "What, sir, cannot you obtain it from the general council?" "No, I have no authority there" He then desired three of the municipal officers to reconduct her to her chamber, desiring her to say nothing to her aunt, whom they meant to send for.

On returning to her chamber, she threw herself into the arms of her aunt; but they quickly separated them, to make madame Elizabeth descend. They put the same questions to her as to Madame Royale, respecting the persons already mentioned. She answered she knew the names and faces of those municipal officers, and others they mentioned; but that she had had no intercourse with them. She denied all correspondence out of the Temple,

and treated with still more contempt the base things about which they questioned her. She returned at four o'clock. Her examination lasted but an hour, because the deputies saw that they could not intimidate her as they had hoped to do a young person. But they deceived themselves in this; they forgot that the life which Madame Royale had led for four years, and, above all, the magnanimous example of her parents, had given her an energy and strength of mind far beyond her years.

Chaumette had assured the princesses that their interrogatories had no relation to the queen, and that she would not be tried. Alas! he deceived them, for her trial commenced almost immediately, and she perished without its being known to the princesses.

They only learned afterwards a few of the circumstances attending this infamous sentence. First, the names of her two counsel. And that Simon and Mathieu, the gaolers of the Temple, had been examined, and many worthy people whom the queen was distressed to see involved on her account. They also learned that the physician Brunier had been brought before the tribunal. He was asked if he knew the queen? "Yes." "Since when?" "Since the year 1788, when the queen intrusted to my care the health of her children." "When you went to the Temple, did you assist the prisoners in corresponding with persons out

of it?" The queen then said, "The physician Brunier, as you know, never came to the Temple but accompanied by a municipal officer, and we only spoke to him in his presence."

The princesses heard finally that the examination had lasted three days and three nights without interuption. They put questions to her of all kinds, and upon the most horrid and degrading subjects. The fine answer she gave to one of the most atrocious is well known. The people were affected by it, and the judges hastened to condemn her, because they were afraid of the effect which her spirit, her firmness, and dignity, might produce upon the people. She heard her sentence with great calmness.

They sent her a priest to attend her in her last moments, who had sworn to support the new constitution. Whatever he said to her, after she had refused him with gentleness, she no longer listened to, and would not accept of his ministry. She knelt and prayed to God alone for a long time. She then lay down and slept for some hours. The next morning, knowing that the curé de Sainte-Marguerite was in a part of the prison opposite to her, she approached her window, looked at his, and knelt down. It is said that he perceived her, and gave her absolution and his benediction. Then, having made the sacrifice of life, she went to receive death with courage amidst the imprecations of an infatuated peo-

ple*. Her fortitude did not desert her either in the cart or on the scaffold. She displayed it as much at her death as she had done during her life.

Thus died, on the 16th of October, 1793, Marie-Antoinette-Josephe-Jeanne de Lorraine, daughter of an emperor, and wife of a king. She was aged thirty-seven years, eleven months, and had been twenty-three years in France. She died eight months after Louis XVI.

* In the morning of the 16th of October, the queen, being delivered over to the executioner, was placed with him in A CART! She had on a white robe: her hands were tied behind her back. In this state she passed between two ranks of the revolutionary army, and through an innumerable crowd. She arrived at the Place Louis XV. at eleven o'clock, and lowered her head to the fatal instrument!—*Hue*, 495.

CHAP. XX.

Uncertainty of the Princesses relative to the Fate of the Queen.—Harsh Treatment of the Princesses.—Cruelties exercised towards the Dauphin.—The Princess Elizabeth taken from the Temple.—Her Death.—Distresses of the Dauphin and Madame Royale.—A Deputation from the Assembly visits the Temple.—Illness and Death of the Dauphin.—The Princess recovers her Liberty.—She quits Paris, and arrives at Vienna.—Her Departure for Mittau, and Marriage.—Conclusion.

THE princesses could not persuade themselves that the queen was dead, although they had heard her condemnation cried by the newsmen. Hope, so natural to the unhappy, made them believe she had been saved.

There were moments, however, in which, notwithstanding their hope in the foregn powers, they had the most distressing apprehensions about her, seeing the rage of the unhappy people against their whole family. Madame Royale remained in this cruel uncertainty during a year and a half.

The princesses learned by the cries of the newsmen the death of the Duc d'Orleans. This was the

only news which reached them during the winter. It gave them a momentary hope; but the searches very soon recommenced, and they were treated with still greater severity.

Madame Elizabeth, who had had, since the revolution, an issue in her arm, was a long time refused what was necessary for it. At length a municipal officer remonstrated against the inhumanity of such conduct, and sent to seek an ointment. They also deprived the princess Royale of the means of providing the juice of some herbs, which she took every morning for her health. Having no longer fish for fast days, they requested eggs, and such other dishes. They were refused, and told that equality did not permit any difference of days. There were no longer weeks, but decades, and they brought them a new almanac.

Another day, when she asked for a fast day diet, they said, "But, citizen, knowest thou not then what is passing? There are none but fools now who believe in all that!" She made no more requests. The searches were still continued; in the month of November, particularly, they were ordered to be made three times a day. One of them lasted from four o'clock till half past eight in the evening. The four municipal officers who made it were quite intoxicated. No one can imagine their conversation, their abuse, and their oaths, during these four hours! They carried away trifles,

such as hats, kings from packs of cards, and all the books that had coats of arms in them, but left religious works, after having lavished on them a thousand impurities and blasphemies.

Simon accused the princesses of making false assignats, and having correspondence abroad. He pretended they had communication with the king during his trial, and made a declaration of it in the name of the poor little dauphin, whom he forced to sign this falsehood. The noise that he pretended to be that of the false money, which he accused them of making, was that of their tric-trac, as madame Elizabeth, to interrupt her niece's melancholy thoughts, had taught her this game. They played in the evenings during winter, which passed quietly, notwithstanding the examinations, the visits, and the searches; and they allowed them fire-wood, which they had at first refused.

[1794.] The 19th of January they heard a great noise in the dauphin's apartment, which led them to conjecture he was going to be taken from the Temple; and they were the more convinced of this, when, looking through the key-hole, they saw them carrying away luggage. Some days after, they heard his door open, and steps in his chamber; and, being persuaded that he was removed, they imagined they had put below some person of consequence. It was, however, Simon that had left the Temple. Obliged to choose between

the place of a municipal officer, and that of guard to the dauphin, he had preferred the first, and they had had the cruelty to leave the infant alone, Unheard-of barbarity! which never had an example—to leave thus an unfortunate child of eight years, already sick, and keep him shut up under keys and bolts, without any succour except a bad bell, which he never pulled, from terror of the people it would summon;—preferring every deprivation rather than to ask any thing of his persecutors.

He lay in a bed that had not been made for more than six months, and he had not strength to do it for himself. It was covered with fleas and bugs, and his linen and person were full of them. They had not changed his shirt or stockings for more than a year. His excrements remained in his chamber, and had never been carried away during all that time. His window, fastened with bars and padlocks, was never opened and it was impossible to remain in his chamber from the poisonous air. He might perhaps have washed himself, and made himself a little better, as he had a pitcher of water; but, subdued by bad treatment, he had no longer the spirit, and his illness began to deprive him of all strength. He asked for nothing, so much did he dread Simon and his other keepers. He passed the days in doing nothing, and they allowed him no

lights. This situation affected his mental as much as his physical state, and it is not wonderful that he fell into a frightful decay. The length of time he preserved his health, and resisted so many cruelties, proves the natural goodness of his constitution.

Madame Elizabeth observed the whole of Lent. She took no breakfast, and made her dinner of a cup of coffee or milk; it was her breakfast which she reserved; and in the evening she ate a little bread; but she made Madame Royale eat whatever was given her, because, at her age, she could not bear abstinence. The refusal of fast dishes to madame Elizabeth did not induce her to interrupt the duties prescribed by her religion, and nothing could be more exemplary than her manner of living.

At the beginning of spring the prisoners were deprived of candles, and they were obliged to retire to bed when they could no longer see.

Till the 9th of May nothing remarkable occurred. On that day, at the moment the princesses were going to bed, they heard the bolts drawn and a knock at their door. Madame Elizabeth begged them to wait till she could throw on her robe. They answered, that could not take a long time; and struck so violently, that they expected the door would be burst open. She opened it as soon as she was dressed, and they immediately

said to her, "Citizen, will you be pleased to descend?" "And my niece?" "They will think of her afterwards." She embraced her niece, and desired her to calm herself, as she would come up again. "No, citizen," they said, "thou wilt not come up again; so take thy bonnet, and descend." They loaded her with the grossest abuse. She bore it with patience, embraced again her niece, desired her to preserve courage and firmness, always to trust in God, and to support herself with the excellent principles of religion which her parents had given her, and never to forget the last injunctions of her father and mother. She then departed, but was long detained below, as the municipal officers made a procès-verbal of her leaving the Temple. They demanded her pockets, in which there was nothing; and, after again hearing the most abusive language, she set out with the crier of the revolutionary tribunal in a hackney-coach, and arrived at the Conciergerie, where she passed the night.

The next day they put these questions to her, "What is thy name?" "Elizabeth of France." "Where wast thou on the 10th of August?" "At the palace of the Thuileries, with the king, my brother." "What hast thou made of thy diamonds?" "I know nothing of them; besides, these questions are useless. You have determined on my death: I have offered to God the

sacrifice of my life, and I am ready to die,—happy in going to rejoin my admirable relations, whom I loved so much upon earth!"

They condemned her to death. She requested to be conducted into the chamber of those who were to die with her. She exhorted them with a presence of mind, an elevation and energy, which inspired them with fortitude. In the cart she preserved the same calmness, and encouraged the women who were with her. Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, they had the cruelty to make her suffer last. All the women, in descending from the cart, requested permission to embrace her; she kissed them, and encouraged them with her usual goodness. Her firmness did not abandon her to the last moment, which she sustained with a resignation full of piety; and her soul was separated from her body, to go and enjoy that happiness in the bosom of God, of which she had been so desirous!

Marie-Phillipine-Elizabeth-Helene, sister of the king, Louis XVI., died the 10th of May, 1794, aged thirty years, having been always a model of virtue. From the age of fifteen she devoted herself to God, and the means of her salvation. From the year 1790, when I was more in a situation to appreciate her, I could only discern in her piety, the love of God, horror at sin, sweetness, modesty, and great attachment to her family,

for whom she sacrificed her life, having never wished to part from the king and queen. In fine, she was a princess worthy of the blood from which she sprung.

One cannot form an idea of the desolation of Madame Royale when she saw herself separated from her august companion. She knew not what had become of her, and they would not inform her. She passed a terrible night; and, though so much disturbed, she was far from imagining the death of her aunt was so near. When she reflected on the manner in which she had been taken away, she had the most terrible apprehensions; yet she endeavoured to persuade herself that they would only send her out of France. The next day she asked the municipal officers what had become of her aunt. They answered, she had gone to take the air. She said to them, that, since she was separated from her aunt, she begged to be reunited to her mother. They replied, that they would speak of it. They brought her afterwards the key of the closet which contained the linen of madame Elizabeth, and she requested them to carry her some, as she had none with her. They told her that they could not do it.

She often entreated the municipal officers that she might be allowed to rejoin her mother, and that they would give her information about her aunt; but they always replied, that they would

speak of it. At length, seeing these demands were fruitless, and remembering that her aunt had said, that, if ever she was left alone, she ought to demand a female attendant, she made the request in obedience to her injunction, though with repugnance, as she was certain of being either refused, or attended by a wicked woman, such as they would choose to send her. She made the demand of the municipal officers, and was told that she had no occasion for an attendant. They redoubled their severity towards her, and took from her her knife which had been restored, and made her submit to an interrogatory on the subject of a steel for striking light, of which they wished to deprive her. Such scenes were often renewed, but the princess never spoke except when they directly put some question to her.

The dauphin still remained alone without being cleaned. They never entered his room but with his food, and had no pity for this unhappy child. There was among the guard one man alone, whose gentleness induced Madame Royale to recommend her brother to him. He ventured to remonstrate against the severity with which the dauphin was treated, but was dismissed the next day. For herself she asked nothing of these people but the merest necessaries, and even these were often refused with

harshness. She was enabled, however, to keep herself clean, for she had soap and water. She swept her chamber every day. She had no candles, but in the long days she suffered less from this privation. They would no longer give her any books; but she had some religious works and travels, that she had read many times; she had also knitting, of which she tired extremely.

The 9th Thermidor arrived. Madame Royale heard the générale beat, and the tocsin sounded, at which she was very much alarmed. The municipal officers who were in the Temple did not move. When they brought her dinner she did not dare to ask what was passing; but at length, on the 10th of Thermidor, at six o'clock in the morning, she heard a frightful noise at the Temple. The guard called "To arms!" the drums beat, and the gates were opened and shut with noise. All this tumult was occasioned by a visit of the members of the national assembly, who came to see if all was tranquil. She heard the bolts drawn of her brother's door, which they opened. She rose and was dressed against the time the members of the convention came to her chamber. It was Barras, and many others. They were in their full dress, which surprised the princess not a little, who was not accustomed to see them thus. Barras called her by her name, and was astonished to find her up. They went away, and

she heard them harangue the guards under the windows, recommending to them to be faithful to the national convention. A thousand cries were raised of "Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention!" The guard was doubled. The three municipal officers who were in the Temple remained in it eight days. In the evening of the third day, at half past nine, when she was in bed, having no light, and not sleeping, from anxiety about what was passing, they knocked at her door to present to her Laurent, the commissioner of the convention, who was appointed to guard her and her brother.

The next day, at ten o'clock, Laurent entered her chamber, and asked, with politeness, if she wanted any thing. He came every day three times to her chamber, but always with good breeding, he never said *thee* or *thou*, and never made an examination of the cabinets and drawers.

The convention sent, at the end of three days, a deputation to ascertain the state of the dauphin. The members who were sent felt pity, and ordered that he should be better treated. Laurent had another bed brought down to him, his own being full of bugs. He made him bathe himself, which removed the vermin with which he was covered; but they still left him alone in his chamber.

Madame Royale very soon asked Laurent for intelligence of her mother and aunt, of whose death she was yet ignorant. He said to her, with

a look of distress, that he had nothing to do with them.

The next day came people in scarfs, to whom she put the same questions. They also told her, that that was not their business; and they did not know why she asked to go out, since it appeared to them that she was very well. "It is terrible," she said to them, "to be separated from my mother for more than a year, without having heard either of her or of my aunt."—"You are not ill?"—"No, sir, but the most cruel illness is that of the heart."—"I assure you we can do nothing respecting you, but I advise you to have patience, and hope in the justice and goodness of the French."

She was endangered by the explosion of Grenelle, which alarmed her extremely. During all this time, her brother remained alone. Laurent visited him daily three times, but, from the fear of endangering himself, he could not do all that he wished, as he was watched. He could however pay more attention to Madame Royale, who had the utmost reason to be satisfied with his behaviour during the time he was in the Temple. He often asked if she wanted any thing; begged her to tell him whatever she wished for, and to ring the bell for what she required. He gave her a tinder-box and a candle.

In the beginning of November civil commis-

sioners, that is to say, a man from each section, came to pass twenty-four hours in the Temple, in order to ascertain the state of the dauphin. There came also another commissioner, named Gomier, to remain with Laurent. He paid great attention to the young Louis XVII. For a long time they had allowed this unfortunate child to be without light at the close of day. Gomier obtained it for him, and even passed some hours in amusing him. Gomier immediately perceived that his knees and wrists were swelled, and thought he was in danger of becoming ricketty. He spoke to the committee, and demanded that he should go into the garden to take exercise. He made him at first go down from his chamber to the small saloon, which pleased the child extremely, as he loved change of place. He was soon sensible of the attentions of Gomier, was affected by them, and attached himself to him. This unfortunate child had for a long time been only accustomed to the worst treatment. There never was an example of such barbarity towards an infant.

The 19th of December, the committee of general safety came to the Temple on account of his illness. The members came also to Madame Royale, but said nothing to her.

The winter passed tranquilly enough. The guards were civil, and even wished to light her fire. They gave her wood at her command,

which pleased her. They supplied her with the books she requested, and Laurent had already procured her money. Her greatest misfortune was the not being able to procure information of her mother and her aunt.

During the winter, the dauphin had some feverish fits; he was always near the fire. Laurent and Gomier persuaded him to go upon the tower to take the air, but he was scarcely there when he wished to descend, as he was unwilling to walk. His illness increased, and his knees swelled much.

Laurent went away, and Loine, a worthy man, was put in his place, who united with Gomier in taking great care of the child. At the commencement of spring, they prevailed on Madame Royale to go on the tower, which she did. The illness of her brother increased every day,—his strength diminished,—even his mind felt the effects of the cruelty which had been so long exercised towards him. The committee of general safety sent the surgeon, Dessault, to take care of him. He undertook to cure him, although he acknowledged his illness to be very dangerous. Dessault died. They appointed for his successor M. Dumangin, and the surgeon Pelletan. They entertained no hope. They gave him, however, medicines which he swallowed with much difficulty. The disease happily did not make him suffer much; it was rather a loss of strength, and

general decay, than acute pain. He was seized with fever, his strength declined daily, and he expired without a struggle.

Thus died, on the 9th of June, 1795, at three in the afternoon, Louis XVII., aged ten years and two months. The commissioners wept for him, so much had he made them love him for his amiable qualities. He possessed much talent. He was not poisoned, as some persons believed; the only poison which abridged his days was dirt, joined to the horrible cruelty exercised towards him *.

After the death of Louis XVII., the committee of public safety decreed that a woman should be appointed to wait upon Madame Royale. Madame de Chanterêne was chosen, and, by her attentions, rendered herself agreeable to the august prisoner. Shortly after, madame and mademoiselle de Tourzel, and the baroness de Mackau, sub-governesses of the children of France, obtained permission to go at times to the tower of the Temple. In consequence of the discovery of a pretended royalist conspiracy, planned by M. le Maistre, an advocate, for which he was shot, Madame Royale was more strictly confined. From

* Here terminate Madame Royale's Memoirs, to which we are indebted for the particulars contained in the last three chapters. M. Hue, after alluding to the preceding details, as collected by an august hand for the pages of history, continues the narrative.

that time, all communication with madame de Tourzel and madame de Mackau was forbidden.

On the very day that the long imprisonment of Madame Royale had received some melioration, and that she was allowed to go from the tower to the garden of the Temple, whither she was followed by a dog, which had, for a long time, been the only witness of her sorrows, I hired a chamber contiguous to the walls of the prison. From my windows I could see, and be seen by, Madame Royale; and through them she could even hear a ballad which was sung in that chamber, and which announced to her that the gates of her prison would soon be opened. The government were informed of this; they acquainted me, indirectly, that they respected the homage paid to misfortune, provided that it went no farther. I, nevertheless, informed Madame Royale, by means of a signal which she remembered, that I was charged with a letter for her; this letter was from his majesty Louis XVIII. I had it conveyed to the tower; and she sent me her answer. The letter which the king deigned to honour me with will confirm what I say.

"*Verona, 29th September*, 1795.

"I am much pleased, sir, with the zeal with which you have served me: and I shall be very glad, if it is possible, that you could remain with my niece. However that may be, I shall never

forget that your courageous fidelity has obtained you, on the part of the late king, my brother, the honour of being mentioned in his will. Be assured, sir, of my constant esteem.

"LOUIS."

Some days after this, one of the king's agents at Paris gave me a letter from the chevalier de Charette, for Madame Royale. The person in whom I confided to convey it into the tower, fearing, as well as myself, to endanger the life of the princess, if this letter were seized, obtained me permission to revive the secret writing in it, so that Madame Royale only heard the contents by word of mouth. I was even compelled, in order to avoid all danger, to burn this interesting letter. The chevalier de Charette, that illustrious victim to honour and fidelity, expressed to the young princess the sentiments of the catholic and royal army of Vendée, which he had the honour to command. He concluded his letter by declaring that he, and his brave companions in arms, would spill the last drop of their blood to break the chains of the august prisoner.

Madame Royale was greatly moved by these sentiments, and sent me an order to assure the chevalier de Charette and his army of her gratitude for the efforts they were making to put an end to her dreadful imprisonment. I transmitted this order to the king's agent.

At this period, some members of the national convention, who, as well as the greater part of the inhabitants of Paris, took a lively interest in the fate of Madame Royale, whose death was likewise wished by some regicides, extorted a decree in her favour; in consequence of which, the executive directory issued an order, a copy of which M. Bénezech, minister of the interior, gave me. That minister also gave me another order, which, upon the request Madame Royale deigned to make that I should attend her to Vienna, authorized me to accompany her, and even to remain with her, without being liable to the penalties of emigration.

M. Bénezech spoke to me feelingly on the fate of the young princess, whom he constantly called by the title of Madame Royale. He was, at the time, dressed in a coat bedecked with those colours which were adopted at the period of the rebellion. Perceiving that I looked at him with astonishment: "This habit," said he to me, "is only my mask: I will even reveal to you one of my most secret thoughts. France will not recover her tranquillity till she resumes her former government: when you can, then, without endangering me, make the king an offer of my services, assure his majesty of my zeal to take care of the interests of his crown." I acquitted myself of the commission.

The order of the directory, authorizing the departure of Madame Royale, was as follows:—

Extract from the registers of the executive directory, of the sixth day of the month of Frimaire, the fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

" The executive directory resolve, that the ministers of the interior and foreign relations are charged to take the measures necessary to accelerate the exchange of the daughter of the last king for the citizens Camus, Quinette, and other deputies or agents of the republic; to appoint a proper officer of the gendarmerie, fit for the purpose, to accompany the daughter of the last king as far as Basle; and to allow her to take with her such persons engaged in her education as she likes best.

" A true copy,
(Signed) " REUBELL, President.
" By the Executive Directory,
(Signed) " LAGARDE, Sec.-Gen.
" BENEZECH."

This resolution being taken, the princess left the tower of the Temple at midnight, on the 19th of December, 1795, her birth-day. She was accompanied by M. Bénezech, and escorted by some gendarmes. The minister's carriage being in waiting at a little distance from the Temple, he offered it to the princess, who accepted it. M. Bézenech accompanied her to the boulevard at St. Martin's Gate, where she found the carriage in which she was to travel to Vienna. She thanked him for his

attentions, and set out on her journey. The marchioness of Soucy, sub-governess of the children of France, M. Méchain, an officer of the gendarmerie, and M. Gomin, one of the commissioners of the Temple, went with her*: a courier preceded her. The princess travelled under the name of Sophia, and the officer who accompanied her was charged to take every precaution not to let her be known. She was, notwithstanding, recognized, and from Paris to Huningen, especially in the latter town, she received an homage, which, though generally silent, was very expressive. The princess arrived at Huningen in the night between the 24th and 25th of December. Here I had the honour of immediately waiting upon her. My pen would express but very feebly the sensations of my heart at the moment. Madame Royale deigned to speak to me for the first time since I had been taken from the Temple. She gave me a letter which she had been writing to the king, and ordered me to forward it to his majesty. This was not the only one she wrote to him. So great was the confidence with which the princess honoured me, that she ordered me to read one of the letters

* Madame Royale wished to have taken the faithful Turgis with her, but he was ill, and did not go to her till some months after. M. Cléry came to Vienna, a few days after her arrival in that city. He died there on the 10th of June, 1809. On his tomb is inscribed this expressive epitaph, "Here lies the faithful Cléry."

she wrote to the king; and I shall remember, as long as I live, the sentiments she expressed to his majesty: she implored his clemency in favour of the French, even in favour of the murderers of her family!

At Huningen the princess alighted at the Crow, where she remained six-and-thirty hours. Just as she was going to set out for Basle, the innkeeper went up to the room in which she was, and, in spite of the frowns of the pretended republicans, threw himself at her feet, and begged her blessing. She gave him her hand to kiss. She made presents to some of the people in the inn, who prized them infinitely the more, in consideration of the hand that bestowed them. As the princess was going to the carriage, her eyes filled with tears. She wept over France, over that country which had been the theatre of the glory, the greatness, and the calamities of her house. She said to the persons about her, "I quit France with regret, and shall never cease regarding it as my country."

Madame Royale left Huningen, on the 26th of December, for Basle, when the exchange was made. She was spared the painful sight of the ceremony. M. Bacher, chief interpreting secretary of the French embassy in Switzerland, and the commissioner appointed for the exchange, reconciled the views of the rulers of France with the respect due to the misfortunes of the daughter of Louis XVI. He carried her to the country-

house of M. Reber, a rich merchant of Basle, at a short distance from St. John's Gate; and there delivered her to the prince de Gavres and baron de Degellmann, minister of the imperial court in Switzerland, both of whom were appointed for that purpose by his majesty the emperor. I was immediately directed by Madame Royale to return the package of things, which the French government had ordered to be made up for her, to the persons who had conducted her to Basle; which I did.

On that very night Madame Royale set out for Vienna. She was accompanied by the prince de Gavres and the marquise de Soucy. I had the honour of being in her suite. She arrived late at Lauffenbourg, where she found women whom the emperor had sent to wait upon her. Next day the princess heard a mass, which she had directed to be said in memory of her august parents. On the 28th of December she continued her journey towards Vienna, where she arrived on the 9th of January, 1796, having stopped two days at Inspruck, the capital of the Tyrol, to see her royal highness the archduchess Elizabeth, her aunt.

The young princess, as I have said, was accompanied by the prince de Gavres. He certainly exceeded the instructions given him by his court, in not permitting the French, who happened to be in the towns through which she passed, to pay their respects to her. However, one day, when,

by a lucky accident, the carriage of Madame Royale, and those of the persons of the imperial service who then composed her suite, were stopped on the highway, I saw, at a distance, an officer of the corps of Condé, M. Berthier, one of his most serene highness's aid-de-camps. I mentioned it to the princess, who desired him to come up to her, inquired very warmly for the prince of Condé; and, when he took his leave, charged him to express to that prince, and to his brave companions in arms, the sentiments of esteem she entertained for them.

On the day of her arrival at Vienna, Madame Royale was received by one of the emperor's great officers. His imperial majesty had ordered one of the most elegant suite of apartments in his palace to be prepared for her, to which she was conducted. The emperor and empress went immediately to see her, and in a few weeks she appeared at court. The princess put on mourning, which it had not been in her power to wear in her prison, where she was informed, at the same moment, of the shocking death of the queen and madame Elizabeth, and the no less cruel end of Louis XVII., long after those sad events had taken place.

A household was established for the princess, similar to that of the archduchesses. The prince de Gavres was appointed her grand-maître, and the countess de Chanclos, governess of the

children of their imperial majesties, her grande-maîtresse, or lady of honour. By the affability of her disposition, and her tender attentions, madame de Chanclos soon won the affection and confidence of the princess.

Madame Royale received the greatest marks of attachment from the inhabitants of Vienna, who, at the time of her departure, warmly expressed the regret they felt in losing her. She left that city in the month of May, 1799, to go to Mittau, in Courland. There, under the protection of heaven, and under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, the princess was married, on the 10th of June following, to the duke d'Angoulême, the eldest son of Monsieur, brother of his majesty Louis XVIII. I had the honour of being present at that august ceremony. The king and queen went to the apartments of the duke and of the princess, and led them to the altar. The nuptial benediction was given to them by the cardinal de Montmorency, grand almoner of France, in a spacious gallery of the palace, built by one of the ancient dukes of Courland, where an altar was raised. Branches of lilac, with which lilies and roses were interwined, were all the ornaments of that altar, at the foot of which the heir and the daughter of so many kings solemnly united their wayward fate. The nobility of Courland, the inhabitants of Mittau, and some of the king's faithful servants, were present at the affecting

scene. Their eyes and mine dwelt, at times, first upon the daughter of Louis XVI., and then upon the abbé Edgeworth!

To the pathetic details which have now been given it would be superfluous, if not intrusive, to add reflections, especially as their authors have so slightly indulged that gratification, guided by the simplicity of unembellished narrative, in connexion with a spirit of elevated forgiveness, which places the sufferer beyond the reach of cruelty.

To characterize justly the period which produced the momentous changes France has witnessed will become the task of posterity; and when the future historian shall recount the tremendous aggregate of human lives sacrificed during those appalling times, and has described the situation of the government, transferred by the most ruinous tumults, through a succession of unprincipled adventurers, he will say that France, when she returned to the principles of order, and recovered the legal representative of her monarchy in the person of Louis XVIII., obtained an immediate peace with the whole world, even with those parts which had felt most severely the lash of her unprovoked aggression, by giving, in the integrity of that monarch, *what she never could give throughout the interregnum,* the security of character for the observance of treaties.

Louis XVIII., brother of the king who fell the unjust sacrifice of persecution, quitted England,

his last asylum, on the 24th of April, 1814, having past twenty-three years in foreign lands. He reached the shores of France in a few hours, and was restored to the throne he inherits on the 3d of May, 1814, when he made his public entry in the capital.

THE END.

Plod
Fullello.

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